

BEARING THE MARK, BEARING THE COSTS:
MEMORIES OF SLAVERY IN COASTAL TANZANIA, 1922-2008

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The study of memory is not only an inquiry into what happened but is just as much or more so about what is happening. Therefore, a study of the legacy of slavery requires a conscientious look into the lived experiences of members of post-emancipation societies. An investigation into the ways communities make use of memories of slavery in the absence of living witnesses is important in that doing so provides a lens for understanding contemporary ideals, institutions and identities.

This dissertation is a qualitative study which investigates the ways in which memories of slavery and emancipation inform contemporary identities and social relations between African and Afro-Arab residents in the former slaving port town of Bagamoyo, Tanzania. Based on in-depth interviews, participant-observation and archival research, the project demonstrates how memories of slavery inform the everyday lives of the residents of Bagamoyo as evidenced by and through public and private discourses on race, ethnicity and lineage. Thus, the research question to be addressed in this dissertation is: In what ways do vicarious memories of slavery manifest in post-emancipation communities?

By centering the memories and experiences of Bagamoyo residents, this project illustrates the ways in which memories of slavery are resurrected in local and national discourse. In this project I argue that these vicarious memories of slavery are evoked as a way to contextualize lived experiences and counter and/or confirm emerging narratives. This project addresses a void present in scholarship concerning slavery in East Africa and the Indian Ocean World in that it centers the experiences of community members through the use of their own testimony, thus providing additional insight into the ways in which the vestiges of slavery persist in post-emancipation societies.

For my mother, Valeria J. King, who taught me to dream gentle dreams

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Chapter One

Introduction

Slavery indeed is now no more than a memory and with some of the older people a habit of thought and speech, but the reality has completely disappeared.

-Colonial officer on the settlement of manumitted slaves in Tanganyika.¹

In 1876 a statue of the Virgin Mary was placed within a man-made grotto upon the mission grounds of the first Catholic Church in East Africa. Homage to the venerated mother of Christ, the grotto similar in design to the religious shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in France was built by ransomed slaves living at the Catholic Mission in Tanganyika's coastal town of Bagamoyo. Erected as an act of thanksgiving to God for their freedom, the grotto serves as a testament to the resolve of the newly freed men, women and children who sought to circumscribe their circumstances by crafting new lives in which they were no longer slaves nor captives. Beyond the towering coconut and palm trees which served as natural borders to the grounds of the Mission, other town residents, the majority of whom were free and Muslim, were on the cusp of having the freedoms they had once enjoyed challenged by German colonial officers who arrived in 1880. Colonial intervention would soon serve as the impetus to events which would lead all members of Bagamoyo society-masters, slaves, recently ransomed and other freedmen to assess their own identities in light of eventual emancipation.

Though bound by neither yoke nor shackle, the formerly enslaved of the Bagamoyo Mission and the free residents of Bagamoyo town shared in the uncertainty which would befall

¹ Tanzania National Archives (hereafter TNA), Acc. 303/1.

them following the proclamation of the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance of 1922 which mandated the full emancipation of all enslaved persons in the colony.² For those who had yet to experience freedom, the ordinance ushered these newly freed men and women into a highly stratified free society. One in which non-slave ancestry, acquisition of land, religious affiliation and acculturation through the performance of Swahili norms and values played a significant role in determining one's place in the citizenry. Entrenched in coastal culture, these reputed qualities would continue to factor into how the recently emancipated and all other segments of the population would fair in a post-emancipation Bagamoyo. Certainly, the town's history as a former slave terminus would in effect influence how subsequent generations would come to terms with the legacy of slavery.

Once considered the mid-nineteenth century economic and cultural gem of the Swahili coast, Bagamoyo served as an instrumental commercial site of trading for both the Omani Sultan governing from Zanzibar (r.1832-1888) and German officials during the early years of colonization (1888-1914). As the primary thoroughfare for both the importation of goods from Zanzibar to and through the interior and the exportation of African captives who were to be shipped from the shores of Bagamoyo to Zanzibar's infamous slave market, Bagamoyo swiftly cemented its place in the commercial enterprise of the slave trade. From the close of the eighteenth century onwards to 1873, trading ships littered the coastal shore of Tanganyika awaiting the arrival of men, women and children who were to be sold into slavery and dispersed

² Implemented by the British in 1922, the ordinance mandated the abolishment of slavery in Tanganyika. Prior to the ordinance, the German colonial powers had declared that any person born after 1906 would be born free, however the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance granted emancipation to all enslaved and their progeny. Tanzania was the last in the region to have slavery abolished, whereas the institution was abolished in Zanzibar in 1897; Uganda, 1900; Kenya, 1907; Mozambique, 1910.



Figure 1. Map of Tanzania. Retrieved from www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/tanzania/, 2010.

throughout the Indian Ocean littoral. While the vast majority of those captured, found themselves enslaved in foreign lands, there were those among the recently captured who would not be forced to board these vessels when they reached the coastline but instead would come to live out their lives of enslavement along the coast.

As a major site for the exportation of slaves, the town of Bagamoyo became the closest thing to home that these enslaved persons would come to know and in turn their presence would come to be intimately woven into the social fabric of the town. So what of those who were brought to the coast sold to traders, plantation owners, and small scale farmers and lived out their

lives of enslavement in the town of Bagamoyo? How did the experience of enslavement and subsequent stigma associated with slave lineage affect social relations following official emancipation in 1922? What correlations can be made between master/slave relations of the past and contemporary patron/client relationships? And what role did the anti-colonial struggle for independence play in the crafting of national memories concerning the slave trade?

In this dissertation, I offer insight into these inquiries by posing the question: How do memories of slavery manifest in post-emancipation communities? In efforts to address this question I examine how the history of slavery and the slave trade has been discussed by various social actors since emancipation. My work engages with the dynamics of memory approach which provides an appropriate lens through which to glean how social groups construct identities which are rooted in a specific historical event which has transpired prior to their own lives. In addition, I utilize the concept of vicarious memory which I borrow from the anthropologist Jacob Climo (1994), who writes that such memories happen “when the memories of others become a part of the reality for those who hear the memories but have not experienced the events to which the memories refer” (p. 9).

Moreover, this project is invested in uncovering how memories of slavery are brought to light in public and private discourse in Bagamoyo given the town’s intimate experience as a slaving port terminus and Tanzania’s post-colonial legacy as a beacon of relative peace and celebrant of ethnic and religious diversity. Based on my findings, I argue that vicarious memories of slavery as expressed in both public and private discourses are evoked as 1) a way to contextualize lived experience and 2) counter and/or confirm existing or emerging narratives.

Pier Larson (2000) writes that

Researching the varied experiences of African slavery through the lens of memory, memorialization, and amnesia-through the historical representations of the African diaspora's diverse peoples-adds a cultural and humanistic component to the often dry and disembodied business of historical reconstruction from European sources" (P. 279).

This project aims to aid in the growing effort of scholars from diverse disciplines to present the varied nuances of slavery and emancipation by way of engaging the ways in which memories of slavery inform the lives of those in post-emancipation societies and vice versa. Hence, the following demonstrates that the study of collective memory is not solely invested in the accuracy of the historical moment recalled; rather it is the meaning that a given group gathers from it.

The legacies of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and its impact on slaves, their descendants and receiving nations have been extensively documented (Gilroy 1993; Gomez 1998; Lovejoy 2000; Berlin 2001). Beyond the work detailing the experiences of people of African descent in the Americas, the Caribbean and Great Britain, scholars of West Africa have also produced works examining the impact of the slave trade on "sending societies" (Klein 1993; Law 2004; Bailey 2005) as well as the processes of abolition and emancipation (Lovejoy and Hogendorn 1993; Getz 2004). Scholarship on slavery as an institution and the slave trade in the African diaspora has produced seminal works which have documented the experiences of the enslaved from the point of capture through the foreboding crossing of the Middle Passage to arrival and life in foreign lands (Gomez 1998; Berlin 2000). While less has been written about the legacy of the slave trade or the institution of slavery and its impact on the contemporary moment, scholars have produced more recent works which have acknowledged this void, among which are Catherine Besteman's (1999) study of the Jubba River valley communities in Somalia as well as

Ahmad Alawad Sikainga's (1996) book on the status of former slaves and their progeny in the Sudan.

Studies concerning slavery in Tanzania more specifically have focused on the pre-colonial era (Brown 1969; Sheriff 1987), or concluded their studies with the introduction of colonial conquest by the Germans following the Berlin Conference (Cooper 1997; Alpers 1967; Morton 1990; Glassman 1995), the 1907 ordinance by the Omani sultan proclaiming the end of the legal status of slavery (Morton 1990), or the beginning of the British Mandate in 1919 (Alpers 1975; Deutsch 2006). These works have not only provided the historical background necessary to reconstruct the experiences of the various social actors of these historical moments but have influenced the starting point and direction of this dissertation. This qualitative study builds upon these works in that the projects' time frame, 1922-2008, encompasses the colonial and post-colonial era. In addition, this dissertation places the experiences of community members at the center of the analysis while simultaneously engaging how intersections of race, class, gender and religious faith are intimately tied to the memories and legacy of slavery in this post-emancipation community.

Post-emancipation societies serve as premier sites for the investigation of the vestiges of the historical constructions of race, gender, class and sexuality; precisely because of the given societies' experience with formalized systems of social stratification. An investigation into the ways communities make use of memories of slavery in the absence of living witnesses is important in that doing so provides a lens for understanding contemporary ideals, institutions and identities. My research shows that by centering the lived experiences of Bagamoyo residents and exploring their vicarious memories of slavery and the slave trade offer insight into the ways in which the vestiges of slavery persist.

While some scholars have centered their gaze upon the remembering processes of the elite, the appropriation of memory by the state and national efforts to commemorate historical events, much less has been written about what the masses do with their individual and/or community memories of given events. Larry Griffin (2004) concurs such writing,

Relatively little research in collective memory has delved into how memory, once debated and codified in museums, memorials, films, national holidays, and other memory sites has been received by putatively using memory to construct meaning about themselves, their times, and their communities. “Memory consumers” (Kansteiner, 2002: 180) thus too often remain unanalyzed, and so how memory actually shapes or does not shape consciousness and action—that is what do people actually do with memory—is left unaddressed (P. 556).

An investigation of the legacy of slavery through the first two decades of the twentieth century will shed light on issues such as social stratification based on the complexities of ethnicity, religious faith and lineage.

Memory Matters

For more than a decade Tanzania has worked to have the town of Bagamoyo deemed a UNESCO world heritage site for its role in the East African slave trade. The very mission, at which the ransomed slaves erected the grotto to the Virgin Mary, is not only home to the first Catholic Church in East Africa, but it is also the site to which the explorer and missionary David Livingstone’s body was brought following his death in 1873.

Located approximately thirty miles southwest across the Indian Ocean from the island of Zanzibar, Bagamoyo’s geographic location was perfectly suited for the nineteenth century increase in the exportation of “slaves, spices and ivory” along the East African coast (Sheriff, 1979). Tanzanian historian Bertram Mapunda (2007) writes that an estimated four to five million lives were lost during the East African slave trade, making it a comparative site for

examining the consequences of the slave trade and slavery. To further illustrate this point, he writes, “Bagamoyo is the Cape Coast of East Africa, as Cape Coast is the Bagamoyo of West Africa” (v).³ It is important to note that Bagamoyo’s standing as a central site for the exportation of slaves and ivory occurred in large part as a response to increasing British anti-slaving patrols along the southern Swahili coast, primarily near the shores of Kilwa, located near the northern border of present day Mozambique.⁴ Thus, slave traders moved north from Kilwa to Bagamoyo where there were fewer patrols, hence making it easier for ships to travel from the coastal waters at Bagamoyo to Zanzibar and evaded anti-slaving patrols.

As a result, the British efforts to ensure the end of the slave trade in the southern portion of the Swahili coast forced the number of traders rerouting their caravans to Bagamoyo to become greater than ever before. The growing prominence of Bagamoyo during this time, not only made it the major hub for the exportation of human labor but the town itself also experienced an increase in the demand for slave labor on local plantations. This increase marked a shift in the nature of slavery in the town and neighboring areas because as the number of slaves increased, elites sought to maintain a social order which would ensure the security of their socio-economic and political positions on the mainland.⁵ Securing the positions of slave owners and

³ Making reference to the Ghana’s Cape Coast fortress built by the Portuguese in the 15th century and later occupied by the British. Cape Coast was not only a fortress but its lower level was comprised of dungeons which served as holding pens for those being shipped to the Atlantic world. Deemed a UNESCO world heritage site in 1979, Cape Coast is known for the barred hole in the walls of the dungeons labeled “the door of no return” Mapunda draws a comparison between Cape Coast and Bagamoyo because just as Bagamoyo served as the initial colonial capital for German East Africa, Cape Coast was initially the base of colonial power on the Gold Coast until the British moved the capital to Accra in 1877 (Buah 1998).

⁴ Settled in the 12th century, Kilwa was the major trade center and city on the Swahili coast.

⁵ Comprised of business, property and land owners, the vast majority of Bagamoyo’s elite were of Arab or Persian descent. The significance of the relationship between claims to such lineage and status in Bagamoyo will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

others who benefitted from the trade in human capital was not only a concern of these two groups but was of utmost importance to German colonial officials who arrived in Bagamoyo to secure their position on the mainland following the Berlin Conference in 1885, which effectively marked the eventual end of the Omani Sultanate's control over the coastal region of which Bagamoyo was a part.

With control over German East Africa (present day Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda) the institution of slavery thrived in town and was for the most part ignored as the Germans recognized that any rash attempts to dismantle the institution would upset property owners and elites in town and in turn disrupt their own efforts to extract resources from its new colonies (Glassman 1995; Deutsch, 2006). Thus, while the slave trade had officially been abolished, the institution of slavery continued throughout the German era and the status of such would not be formally addressed until the close of the First World War when Great Britain would be ushered in as Tanzania's newest colonial power in 1914 and eight years later, in 1922 the British effectively drafted the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance which mandated the abolition of slavery in Tanzania.⁶

⁶ Implemented by the British in 1922, the ordinance mandated the abolishment of slavery in Tanganyika. Prior to the ordinance, the German colonial powers had declared that any person born after 1906 would be born free, however the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance granted emancipation to all enslaved and their progeny. Tanzania was the last in the region to have slavery abolished, whereas the institution was abolished in Zanzibar in 1897; Uganda, 1900; Kenya, 1907; Mozambique, 1910.

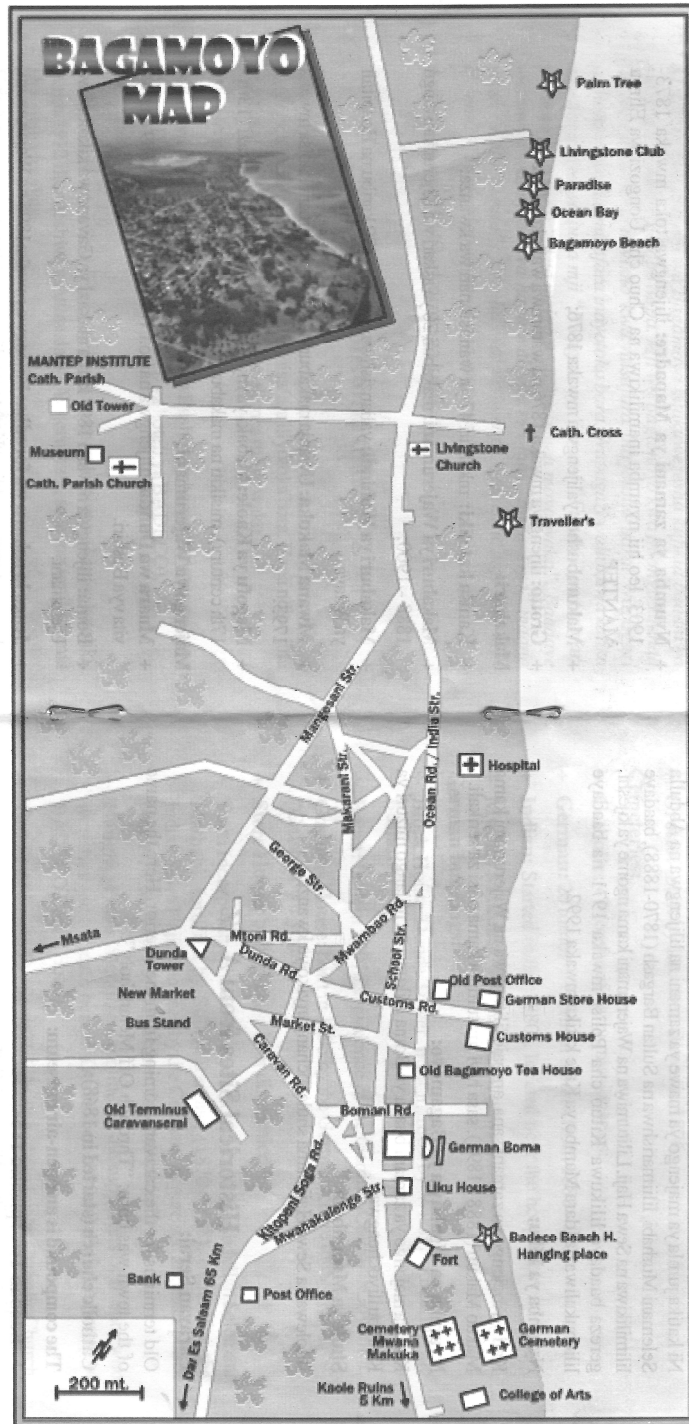


Figure 2. Bagamoyo Town Visitors Map.⁷

⁷ *Karibu Bagamoyo: Bagamoyo Town Guide*. Department of Antiquities Catholic Museum Bagamoyo. Peramiho Printing Press.

It was because of these historically significant events, that strangers whom I met during my first visit to the country who upon finding out that I was an *Amerikani nyeusi*, black American fervently expressed the importance of my visiting Bagamoyo.⁸ With merely a cursory knowledge of Bagamoyo's past, I made the hour and a half mini-bus ride from Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania to the town of Bagamoyo. Within hours of my arrival I no longer wondered what inspired the strangers in Dar es Salaam to encourage me to visit Bagamoyo even as many had not visited themselves. A walk through the small town with the Indian Ocean as its backdrop soon revealed a space in which the collision of past and present was palpable. A space in which, the legacies of the slave trade clashed against the sweet memories of solidarity at Independence, a place where allegiance to the nation quieted dissent and citizens championed neighborly cooperation in public while discretely acknowledging fissures in private. It was in this place and through the voices and experiences of a community that I gained confirmation that "between individual and nation lie many other, more, restricted groups. Each of these has its own memory" (Halbwachs 1992:42).

In his pioneering 1926 publication *On Collective Memory*, Maurice Halbwachs argues that memory is not a phenomenon of the individual, but instead it is the mediated action which occurs between individuals and thus aids in the construction of the present and the formation of group identity. He posits that memories of individuals do not occur in isolation; rather they are prompted by the individual's interaction with others who have similar recollections of a given event. Thus, according to Halbwachs, the ability to recall particular events is not merely a

⁸I had traveled to Tanzania as part of my pre-dissertation fieldwork on a completely different subject in the administrative capital of Dodoma. My visit to Bagamoyo brought an end to that proposed project and what was to be an overnight trip turned out to be a two week stay instead. I returned to Bagamoyo in the summer of 2008 and again for an extended stay from November 2008- April 2009.

physiological response but an act which is influenced through communication with others. This emphasis on the significance on the social context of memories has proven problematic for scholars who deem that Halbwachs does little to ascertain the merit of individual memory and cognition.

James Fentress and Chris Wickman (1994), challenge Halbwachs' dismissal of the significance of individual memory asserting that there is indeed value in personal thought processes and thus the individual in relation to collective memory is more than "a sort of automation, passively obeying the interiorized collective will" (p. x). While in fact Halbwachs' analysis stops just short of explaining precisely how collective memory works, I agree with Jennifer Cole's (2005) assessment of Halbwachs critics in which she argues that

it is useful to interpret Halbwachs as focusing on the ways in which memory is *both* individual and social; rereading him, one can argue that individual memory is "finished" and made coherent in social practices like ritual even as rituals may work to sustain the social memory of particular groups (P. 110).

Psychologist, Frederic Bartlett, advanced Halbwachs' perspective by exploring the relationship between individual recollections and societal influences. In *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* Bartlett (1939) introduces the notion of "the effort after meaning", in which he argues that individuals seek out an understanding of the unfamiliar by using schemata that allows them to interpret given situations based on the knowledge gained by their membership in particular social groups. Similarly Barry Schwartz views collective memory as "part of culture's meaning-making apparatus" through which people satiate their need to understand their personal experiences and the world at large (2000:17). In fact, memory has multiple roles and numerous actors. As Myszal (2003) articulates, memories both thrive and perish within mnemonic communities, such as the family and ethnic groups because these are

spaces in which groups are socialized. It is within these spaces, that group members come to understand the significance of particular experiences and beliefs encapsulated within the memory of the collective. In addition, within these mnemonic communities members gain their social identities and recognize that while some memories are for public consumption others are to be shared only in private, or not at all.

Another mnemonic community is the nation. It is arguably the most significant community as Mistral suggests because its “continuity relies on the vision of a suitable past and a believable future” (2003:17). Earlier works exploring the role of memory focused primarily on the construction of public memory as a national project rooted in imagined communities (Anderson 1991) and invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In the case of the latter, the authors demonstrate how the stability of the nation state is dependent on social cohesion. With modern Europe and colonial Africa as sites of interrogation, the authors argue that the required social cohesion is gained through the states’ manipulation of memory in order to construct a national grand narrative by which the identities of the citizenry becomes contingent on the construction of the national imaginary.

In a similar vein, Benedict Anderson’s (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* focuses on the role of national elites during the nineteenth century, the rise of capitalism, advent of print literacy and language as tools for promoting nationalistic ideology. For Anderson, the notion of a collective memory is presented in instrumentalist terms by which the state is the sole proprietor of memory and its citizens who are not power holders within the given hegemonic order are represented as “memory consumers” (Kansteiner 2002: 220). Thus, the seminal works by the aforementioned authors offer only a top-down vision of the origins of nationalism and in doing so relegate the discussion of memory to

the political sphere, making memory synonymous with national ideology and “treating memory as a symptom of politics lacks explorations of power that are not politically evident” (Confino 1997:1395).

With a particular focus on how social groups experience memory, the dynamics of memory approach, in which this project situates itself, offers an alternative to the presentist approach. The dynamics of memory approach presents collective memory as an active and continuous process through which actors across social strata are constantly “asserting their own version of the past” (Misztal 2003: 68). A study concerned with the question of how memories of slavery come to the fore in communities following the end of slavery matches well with the dynamics memory approach in that just as memory is a continuous process, so too is emancipation. In this way, this perspective differs from Halbwachs assertion that the identities of social groups are static and as such the collective memories of each is fixed (Misztal 2003).

Instead, scholarship within the dynamics of memory perspective advocates for the importance of paying particular attention to the historical moments in which these social identities emerge. In essence, the dynamic perspective places historical knowledge at the center of its analysis and recognizes that the past manifest in numerous ways beyond the performance of commemorative activities. In addition, this perspective challenges the presentation of collective memory in primarily instrumentalist terms and in turn illustrates that memory is not solely the possession of dominant forces, such as the state but instead is complicated, fluid and beholden to no singular domain (Schudson 1989; Radstone 2000; Misztal 2002).

Paolo Jedlowski writes, “the past structures the present through its legacy, but it is the present that selects this legacy, preserving aspects and forgetting others, and which constantly reformulates our image of this past repeatedly” (2001). The issue of reformulation is prevalent

not only in the ways in which recollections of the past are constructed but also through the manner in which debates concerning the role of memory have crossed the disciplinary boundaries of psychology (Bartlett 1932), sociology (Halbwachs 1992 [1926]; Fentress and Wickman 1999; Olick 2007) anthropology (Malkki 1995; Stoller 1995) and history (Hobswan and Ranger 1983; Nora 1989; Anderson 1991; Kansteiner 2002). As to be expected, the interdisciplinary nature of the field has proved to be fertile ground for debates over the dichotomous relationships between individual and nation, the particularities of the local and generalizations of the global, and the questions concerning the objectivity of history and the accuracy memory.

Over the last decade, scholars within the field of African studies have begun to examine the ways in which the slave trade and slavery have been remembered. The following highlights three trends within the literature, which include works which investigate public memory and memorialization of the trade, those which explore the cultural practices and social identities which emerged as responses to the threat of the trade and the shifts in social dynamics following abolition and finally scholarship which examines narratives and oral histories concerning the institution of slavery and the trade.

Memory, Slavery and the Nation

While the works of the scholars of the presentist school have offered much in the way of understanding the varied methods and tools employed by elites to foster national identities, it remains that other actors within the state are written out. However, the voices of the everyday citizens began to emerge in the works of scholars examining alternative views of the nation (Schudson 1989; Schwartz 1990; Trouillot 1995). Counter-memory/public memory offers the

varied perspectives and roles of the masses in the construction of national memory. Studies of public memory provide insight into how memories at both the levels of the state and civil society are managed and continually rearticulated based on particular historical moments (Bodnar 1993; Connerton 1989; Huyssen 1995; Law 2004). It is because public memory as suggested by Bodnar is “a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present and by implication, its future” that its value is irrefutable and in turn provides further evidence that challenges the position that the state is the sole proprietor of memory (15).

In terms of this project, efforts to memorialize/commemorate the slave trade and slavery in a given locale has indeed been a national project in which social actors from various sectors of society have at times sought to actively challenge the top-down approach in response to the development of cultural heritage tourist sites and memorialization projects based on the slave trade. From Senegal’s Goree Island to Benin’s Route of Remembrance and Ghana’s Cape Coast and Elmina castles, the public memorialization of the Atlantic slave trade have created a space in which people of African descent have traveled from abroad in search of some notion of home. Scholars have noted how these nations have used the history of the Atlantic slave trade as a way to encourage heritage tourism while honoring those ancestors sold into the trade (Essah 2001; Tillet 2009). Among these are those which have moved beyond the aforementioned nations and documented challenges which come to light in the efforts to commemorate/memorialize the slave trade (Reinhardt 2006; Carmignani 2011). Sandra Carmignani’s (2011) work in Mauritius details the challenges which accompanied the naming of Le Morne Brabant, a mountain which according to oral tradition became refuge to marooned slaves, a national heritage site. Central to the contestation over this commemoration were national appropriation of what those of slave

descent or more generally Creole identity considered a site of Creole heritage rather than an all-encompassing national identity.

More recent studies of counter-memory and slavery expose the complexities and contestations surrounding varied presentations of memories of the slave trade (Reinhardt 2006; Araujo 2011). Central to these studies has been the discussion of silences and/or the reluctance of citizens to divulge memories of the trade (Makris 1996; Sikainga 1996; Bailey 2005). Of particular interest is historian Ann Bailey's collection of oral histories among the Ewe in southeastern Ghana in which she argues that personal narratives and collective memories transform overtime and can be attributed to the political and social history of a nation.

Though not writing about the relationship between public memory and slavery, Liisa Malkki's (1995) ethnographic work among Hutu refugees living in Tanzania demonstrates how counter-memory services the dispossessed. In *Purity and Exile*, the anthropologist explores how experiences of displacement and the threat of death by way of the Tutsi regime in Burundi in 1972, led to what Malkki terms as the creation of a "mythico-history" among the refugees. It is through the construction of this "mythico-history" that these refugees developed a discourse based upon personal memories and tales presented by elders who survived earlier genocidal attacks. These narratives represent a counter memory to not only Burundi national discourse concerning the antagonistic division between Hutu and Tutsi but also offers a vision of how a population existing outside the protection of the nation-state possesses the power to produce its own narrative despite its physical and social dislocation. More importantly, Malkii asserts that memory among both groups of refugees represented more than a recollection of historical events but "it represented, not only a description of the past, nor even merely an evaluation of the past, but a subversive recasting and reinterpretation of it in fundamentally moral terms" (54).

Hence, the act of reinterpreting existing narratives and commemorative efforts is central to understanding that memory is not a sole possession of the state and in fact the construction of public memory is oft times a collaborative act, relying upon the acquiescence of the state apparatus or its people dependent on the case.

Slavery, Embodied Practice and Social Identities

The various social groups in which an individual holds membership inevitably influences not only memories of particular events but also informs how individuals come to identify themselves as both independent beings and as part of the collective. Whether one is to speak of family, community, nation or faith, the social interaction within these groups bridges what one *thinks* to be true as an individual and what is *known* to be true by the collective through the transference of knowledge which is steeply rooted in memory.

Rosalind Shaw's (2002) ethnography *Memories of the Slave Trade: Rituals of the Slave Trade Historical Imaginations* examines the process of mediation in the spirit world among the Temne of Sierra Leone. Central to her argument is that remembrance is not only demonstrated through the verbal but is also shown in the non-verbal processes of ritual and divination. Employing Bordieu's concept of habitus, Shaw successfully demonstrates "that there are other ways of remembering than by speaking of it" (p. 2). Other scholars too have researched the experience of embodiment as it relates to slavery through examinations of art, religious shrines, landscape and woodcarvings (Blier 1995; Rosenthal 1998; Baum 1999; Greene 2002).

Though not writing about the slave trade, anthropologists Paul Stoller (1995) and Jennifer Cole (2001) have both produced works which speak to the significance of embodied practice and memory. For instance, Paul Stoller's (1995) work on spirit mediums among the Hausa presents

spirit possession as not only a spiritual activity but as an embodied phenomenon where cultural memories of the colonial state in Niger are critiqued through mimicry and ritual.⁹ In this way, Stoller evokes Foucault's discussion of counter-memory by arguing that counter-memories are not only evidenced through oral traditions or written text but also include the embodied practice.¹⁰

Veronica Dominguez (1986) argues that identity is "a conception of the self, a selection of physical, psychological, emotional or social attributes of particular individuals" and "not a concrete thing" (p. 266). If what Dominguez suggests is true, then perhaps it is through the practice of embodiment that the relationship between identity and memory becomes realized. For "it is only in the act of naming an identity, defining an identity or stereotyping an identity that identity emerges as a concrete reality" (p. 266). Laura Fair's (2004) exceptional work on post-abolition Zanzibar demonstrates the multiple ways former slaves worked to redefine themselves and make their new identities a reality by expressing their new found freedom through music, sports and dance. Her work examines how land ownership, the appropriation of particular clothing and participation in cultural networks all signaled a renegotiated social identity for former slaves.

⁹ While Stoller demonstrates how spirit possession can be viewed as a form of cultural resistance in that the mediums offer alternative representations of colonial officials, the work does not demonstrate how the counter memory offered through spirit possession serves contemporary understandings of the period or how the Hausa have used these memories in the formation of a post-colonial identity.

¹⁰ Works on memories of the colonial era, have contributed incredibly to this project and are especially useful in developing studies which intend to examine vicarious memories in that though there remains living witnesses to the colonial era in Africa, the violence of the colonial period offers similarities to the disruptions and fissures experienced during the trade and throughout the existence of the institution of slavery.

Slavery, Oral Histories, Narrative and Remembrance

Scholarship centered on memory and slavery has greatly been informed by a myriad of archival tools such as travel journals, archeological finds, abolitionist campaign pamphlets, colonial records, and fictional works of authors throughout the diaspora. Works by diverse scholars of the early twentieth century such as folklorists Zora Neale Hurston and others collected life stories of former slaves in the American South as did others working the Federal Writer's Project (Berlin 1998). In the African context, Marcia Wright's (1993) collection of slave narratives documents the biographies and autobiographies of five women and one man who experienced slavery during the turn of the close of the nineteenth century. The narratives underscore the varied manner in which the former slaves became enslaved and experienced life after gaining "freedom".¹¹ Of particular importance is what narratives reveal about the social dislocation experienced by women whose identities were continuously based upon their marital status and kinship ties to male relatives. Other works which speak to the experiences of the formerly slave through life histories offer a look into intimate aspects of enslavement (Caplan 1975; Herlehy and Morton 1988; Romero 1986; Strobel 1990).

The attempt to decipher how slaves and their descendants came to reconcile their lot, retain or relinquish their native religious faiths and construct new lives in unknown territories has been of primary interest to scholars of slavery. As such, personal narratives have served as rich reservoirs of knowledge, providing first hand recollections of life experiences. However, the use of narratives as historical evidence has not been without its critics. The question surrounding the use of these narratives as historical evidence was prompted by questions of accuracy given that

¹¹ While the lives of the six individuals in this work offer firsthand accounts of both former slaves and to some extent the experiences of their offspring. The limit of the work is that all six found refuge in both Christianity and lived in Christian communities. Despite the significant proportion of practicing Muslims in the region, the narratives do not speak to the ideological differences which may have varied among the formerly enslaved.

the accounts were collected from an aging population as well as the positionality of and between the interviewer and respondent.

Historian Ralph Austen also details the challenges of oral traditions concerning the Atlantic slave trade, asserting that such traditions “cannot be used as empirical evidence because their narrative content is, by any modern standards, patently implausible” (2001:237). In Austen’s (2011) assessment of the empirical value or lack thereof of such narratives he maintains that the value of such accounts is what they reveal about the moral economy of the slave trade. Similarly, Paul Lovejoy (2011) describes the challenges faced in the recording of slave narratives in his re-examination of the autobiography of Olaudah Equiano which has been the source for some debate concerning its accuracy not long after its publication in 1789.

Central to this debate has been the question of validity. However, as I discuss in Chapter 5, the impact of a story on can often be as important if not more so than the validity of the claims set forth. In his description of the challenges of analyzing narratives, Kenneth Plummer (1995) explains the importance of applying a sociological approach when evaluating narratives because doing so,

offers distinctive advantages because it does not stay at the level of textual analysis: it insists that story production and consumption is an empirical social process involving a stream of joint actions in local contexts themselves bound into wider negotiated social worlds (p. 24)

Therefore, whether memories are housed in the archives, come to the fore through ritualistic practice or are resurrected in efforts to explain social phenomena “it is still narrative in some form that organizes human ways of knowing the past” (Wertsch 2002:176).

Organization of the Remainder of Study

Chapter 2 provides the methodology and strategies for data analysis. Greater detail concerning the research site and participants are provided in this chapter as are the limitations and parameters of the study. In Chapter 3, I examine how emancipation challenged the previously constructed identities of the freed and enslaved. Through an examination of the importance of access to land, the control over labor production, and lineage the chapter details how both were used as a way to classify the citizenry as well as to challenge the pre-existing social structure. The chapter closes with a discussion of the significance of group affiliation both secular and religious and shows how discourses on slavery and emancipation were important in addressing grievances and conflicts as well as a means of unification between and among various social groups.

Chapter 4 examines the connection between the history of slavery in Tanzania and the legacy of the nation's first president Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Using stories told by participants and their recollections of Nyerere's tenure as president, his visits to Bagamoyo both before and after Independence in 1961 and the writings and speeches delivered by Nyerere, I demonstrate how the high regard to which Nyerere is held throughout the nation manifest in the ways Bagamoyo residents present their narratives concerning post-colonial social relations, particularly concerning religious, racial and ethnic difference. The chapter raises the question of whether in the community's desire to preserve Nyerere's wish for a Tanzania void of antagonism rooted in racial divide, a more direct and public dialogue concerning issues surrounding race, ethnicity and class is subverted.

The final chapter of analysis, Chapter 5, "What's in a Tale?" answers the questions, why are some stories remembered and others forgotten? And what compels a community to recall one

tale and not another? Through the examination of three stories concerning the experiences of enslaved and ransomed women during the East African slave trade, I present the ways in which the stories offer an opportunity for both storyteller and listener to consider the atrocities of the trade, the roles of the varied historical social actors and the resiliency of the enslaved. In addition, the chapter demonstrates how the recounting of these stories, metaphorically render the central figures of these accounts as palimpsests of memory. The project closes with Chapter 6 which offers a discussion of the implications of the study and prospects for future research.

A Note on Terminology

Given the immense wealth of knowledge and images offered in Western scholarship and media on the trans-Atlantic slave trade and chattel slavery in the Americas, it is necessary to define slavery as it is referred to in this study. My intent is not to define or describe what slavery was not but rather what it was-meaning how it was experienced by historical actors and has been understood in the contemporary Tanzania. Toni Morrison (1993) captures the challenges that come with any attempt to articulate an experience in which the loss of life, the performance of violence and defying acts of resiliency occur stating that “language can never “pin down” slavery, genocide, war. Nor should it yearn for the arrogance to be able to do so. Its force, its felicity is in its reach toward the ineffable”. Hence, slavery in this in this project can best be understood by envisioning East African coastal society during slavery as

a hierarchy of dependency in which ‘slaves’ constituted one of a number of unfree groups from which menial labour was drawn to perform services...It was a reciprocal system in which obligation implied servitude to an individual with superior status, to a kin group or the crown, in return for protection (Miers 2004: xxii).

Secondly, in this study I utilize the term Afro-Arab as a way to identity those groups who identify as being of Arab descent. In interviews no differentiation was made between Arab persons from Yemen, Oman, the Persian Gulf or elsewhere in the Middle East. Research participants either referred to this population as *Waarabu* meaning Arabs or used the term Afro-Arab. I have pondered how to refer to a diverse population whose voice is notably absent from the interviews and wish to make it implicit that it is not my intention to present the Arab and Afro-Arab communities in Bagamoyo as a monolithic group.¹² After giving much thought I have reconciled the use of the term Afro-Arab to refer to those groups who make genealogical claims to the Middle East. Not only did those interviewed use this term but I also think the use of the term aids in presenting the complexity of the ethnic/racial identities of Tanzania and coastal communities in particular.

¹² Due to the nature of this research topic, only one research participant was of Arab descent. The individual interviewed noted that this family was originally from Yemen.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

Since political agency, experience and knowledge are transformatively connected, where but in ourselves and lives can we begin our explanatory and analytical activities?

(Bannerji 1995: 89)

Our roles in ongoing stories are not always self-chosen. We are recruited into them by virtue of our membership in the community, and we ignore them at our-and others'-peril.

(Hinchman and Hinchman 1997: xxiv)

This study lends itself to qualitative research because as discussed in the introduction, previous studies on memory have paid particular attention to the state as the architect of collective memory sanctioning what is to be celebrated, remembered and forgotten. Thus, citizens of the state become an abstract entity and/or nearly unconscious participants in the construction of memory. However, this project takes a look at what citizens are doing and have done with memories of slavery thus better demonstrating how a community uses vicarious memories in the negotiation of not only how they live their lives and see themselves but how they see and experience their neighbors and nation.

Given that a central objective of this dissertation is to interrogate the stories, stigma, and silences which exist in a post-emancipation community, I have relied upon the tenets of black feminist thought in the development of a methodological approach which I deem appropriate for this study. Central to black feminist thought is the commitment to research which moves beyond “knowledge for knowledge’s sake” and challenges androcentric perspectives and positivist knowledge claims which have underestimated and/or negated the value of the lived experiences of black women specifically and other marginalized groups (Collins 2000:31). Black feminist thought acknowledges that there is no singular feminism or a universal notion of womanhood

and instead maintains that there exist multiple understandings and experiences of such. Therefore, as Collins notes, “the significance of a Black feminist epistemology may lie in its ability to enrich our understanding of how subordinate groups create knowledge that fosters both their empowerment and social justice” (2000:269).

Feminist scholars across disciplines have emphasized not only the merits of feminist theory but have also contemplated the question of what constitutes a feminist methodology (Oakley 1980; Harding 1987; Reinharz 1992; Wolf 1996; DeVault 1999; Cuadraz and Uttal; 1999). In terms of both data collection and analysis, black feminist perspectives throughout the diaspora have been integral to the development of this project since its inception, providing an intellectual foundation for interrogating a subject as complicated, emotionally charged and politically motivated as the legacy of slavery.¹³ Precisely because this project is about *both* men and women and the multiple identities in which research participants, historical actors and I as the researcher possess, two critical frameworks which are entrenched within a black feminist perspective- intersectionality and positionality were integral in the outlining of this project.

In her examination of employment experiences of black women, Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) introduced the term intersectionality as a way to illustrate the ways in which race and gender as identity categories were interconnected and thus could not be evaluated separately.¹⁴ Building upon earlier works which championed new approaches to understanding the lives of black women, intersectional scholarship seeks to present analyses of lived experience in a more

¹³ In essence my work has been influenced by the intellectual tradition of black American feminist scholars such as Audre Lorde, Patricia Hill Collins, Elsa Barkley-Brown and Angela Davis. In addition, I have been inspired by black women throughout the Diaspora such as Hazel Carby, Julia Sudsbury, Amina Mama, Ayesha Imam, Oyeronke Oyewumi and Filomena Chioma Steady.

¹⁴ Crenshaw continues this line of inquiry in her 1993 article, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color”, Stanford Law Review Vol. 43, No. 6, (Jul., 1991), pp. 1241-1299.

thorough way, one which recognizes multiple identities and social forces are shaped by one another (Davis 1981; Lourde 1984). In addition, intersectional scholarship not only advocates for but actively demonstrates a shift in the criteria of what is and should be considered knowledge production. In regards to this project, broaching the topic of slavery in a community in which the national narrative is built upon notions of unity and inclusion, an intersectional analysis proffers greater insight into the historical context in which the intersections of race, class, gender and religious faith emerge.

Just as black feminist thought encourages the broadening of criteria for what constitutes knowledge, it also maintains that not only are the lived experiences of those whom stories are recorded of sociological significance but so too are those of the researcher. Whereas, positivist approaches have maintained that research endeavors must be value free and researchers must distance themselves from those whom they study, feminist theory has challenged such asserting that producing scholarship which is wholly objective is not a reasonable expectation because one's "biography, politics and relationships become part of the fabric of the field" (Bell 1993, p. 41 as cited in Wolf 1996:34). Thus, the positionality of the researcher should be taken into account as the biography of the researcher is in large parts imbued within the projects they produce.¹⁵ Himani Bannerji (1995) notes best the significance of recognizing one's positionality, writing,

The social analysis we need, therefore, must begin from *subjectivity*, which asserts dynamic, contradictory and unresolved dimensions of experience and consequently does not reify itself into a fixed psychological category called *identity* which rigidifies an individual's relationship with her social environment and history. Subjectivity and experience, understood in this way, argue for

¹⁵ This is to say that who we are as researchers comes to light at every step of the research process, from the formulation of research questions, theoretical perspectives, the methods employed and the manner in which findings are interpreted.

coherence of feeling and being without forcing either a homogeneity on or a fragmentation of subjectivity” (p. 89)

Moreover, attention paid to the importance of divulging the biography of researchers is not intended to be an act of self-promotion nor is its objective to detract from the research agenda, instead positionality and similar approaches rooted in standpoint theory are interested in creating spaces in which conscientious effort is put forth in developing research which takes into account varied points of views, experiences and truths (Smith 1989; Bannerji 1995; Collins 2000).

Given such, as a black American woman feminist scholar, I recognize that I write from a position of privilege in the American academy about a people more than 8,000 miles across the Atlantic. I was simultaneously insider and outsider in Tanzania. I was as an American, a supposed relative to Michelle and Barack Obama who had strayed away from home to as one Tanzanian friend described to another, to “write a book for school”. My interest in Bagamoyo’s history and the legacy of slavery was explained and often excused by many as being a byproduct of my own slave heritage. On three separate occasions, people I spoke with lamented over the fate of my ancestors.¹⁶ In other cases, my presence as a woman traveling alone highlighted my foreignness, which in some regards allowed me to behave outside the parameters of acceptable

¹⁶ In one case Mzee Michael, whom had served under the British during WWII and Robert, a Maasai who sold jewelry and carvings on the beach near the tourist hotels in Bagamoyo were having a conversation about family. I had known Mzee Michael from a previous stay at one of the tourist hotels and we had previously shared information about our background with one another. In the midst of the conversation of which Robert was present, Robert asked me about my family origins of which I could only reply that I could only trace my family back five generations. Unsure that I understood his question, Robert rephrased the question asking “Kabila nani?” or “What is your tribe”. I replied “Amerikani nyeusi” or “Black American” as my ethnic group. At this point Mzee Michael interrupted and explained to Robert in Swahili that I had no people in Tanzania or anywhere in Africa who “knew me” and that since my ancestors were taken as slaves, I had no idea where I was “really” from. To which Robert most genuinely expressed his condolences in a way that I too felt a wave of sadness that I had not expected. On the other occasions, the owner of the guest house expressed similar feelings when asking me why I would want to know about slavery when it should make me sad to think about the lives of my “grandfathers”. During this same stay, upon finding out that I was a black American, another Tanzanian guest of the hotel shared with me his recollections of when he first learned of American slavery through the broadcast of Alex Haley’s mini-series *Roots* on Tanzanian television.

norms for community members. However, return visits, intermediate language acquisition and a growing number of relationships made me susceptible to expectations to gender norms over time.¹⁷

Overall, given my own positionality, I have written the following fully cognizant of the baggage, intellectual and emotional that I carried with me into the research and into the lives of the people of Bagamoyo who allowed me to stay for just a while. Thus, the following presents the development of a study which shares how residents in one post-emancipation community have articulated the role of memories of slavery through their lived experiences, thoughtful reflections and intriguing inquiries.¹⁸

Data Collection

Research Site

Bagamoyo is located nearly 40 miles from Tanzania's commercial center, Dar es Salaam. The town is also the capital of the district of the same name. With a population of approximately 30,000, Bagamoyo struggles with excessive unemployment rates and the majority of residents participate in the informal economy selling produce and other foodstuffs at market, working as independent tour guides, fishermen and farmers.¹⁹ Tourism is also a source of income for

¹⁷ This is discussed in greater detail in the *Limitations* section at the close of this chapter.

¹⁸ The questions research participants asked of me relating to my own thoughts about my slave heritage and the "success" of black Americans in the U.S. were poignant. Some comments teetered on the brink of being reminiscent of discourse of cable news pundits who advocate that the election of Barack Obama as America's first African-American president signaled the beginning of a post-racial society. In my role as researcher, I listened to comments and depending on the context in which these conversations arose, I responded with my own take on the varied contemporary experiences of black Americans.

¹⁹ The population number refers to residents of Bagamoyo town and neighboring villages. The town of Bagamoyo is the district headquarters for the district of the same name which is one of six districts located in the Pwani region. The population of Bagamoyo district is estimated to be near 240,000 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics).

residents who work as tour guides, taxi drivers, artisans who sell their carvings and paintings to visitors and others who are employed by local hotels.²⁰ The town is also a hub of the dhow making industry. A 2002 report states that less than one third of the 15,000 employed residents of the town are employed by the formal economy (Kombe 2002:5). In terms of diversity, Bagamoyo is home to several ethnic groups among these are the Zaramo, Kwere, Doe and Baluchi and nearly 90% of local residents are Muslim.

Bagamoyo is one of the oldest towns in Tanzania and served as the first capital of German East Africa. Located just three miles outside town is the archeological site of the Kaole ruins which includes the remains of one of the oldest mosques in East Africa dating back to the 13th century as well as graves and ruins from a mosque which dates back to the 15th century. The relatively recent pavement of a tarmac road from Dar es Salaam to Bagamoyo has made travel to the town much more efficient for residents and tourists alike. A large market, travels to Bagamoyo once a week with sellers hawking second hand clothing, electronics, cooking implements, phones, *kangas* and various odds and ends either not available at or too expensive to purchase from the few local shops.²¹ The town center is noted by the bus depot, where *daladalas* convene picking up travelers headed to various locales.²² The local market is within sight of the bus depot where fresh produce and fish from the day's catch is sold. Just south of the market is the Caravan-serai, a government funded museum which houses archeological finds dating back

²⁰ Some residents noted that the majority of those working at the tourist beach hotels were not from Bagamoyo but rather larger cities such as Dar es Salaam and Morogoro because employment in the hotels required some fluency in English and other skills which most acquired through formal education which continues to prove expensive for many residents. Some interview participants in the SAP age cohort noted instances of missed months of school since their parents could not afford to pay school fees.

²¹ *Kanga*, colorful cotton cloth often inscribed with Swahili proverbs and message which is usually worn wrapped around the waist and/or shoulders.

²² A *daladala*, usually a mini-van is the most common use of public transportation.

to the 12th century, discoveries found at the nearby Kaole ruins and other artifacts from the 18th century, including a room dedicated to the history of slavery in the area.²³ Within two miles from the Caravan-serai towards the shoreline is another main road which leads to the first Catholic Church on the East African mainland.

Participant Observation, Recruitment and Selection Process

The decision to focus on the long term consequences of slavery in a singular community was made in effort to secure a concentrated space in which daily interactions between community members in both the public and private spheres could be accessed. During two previous research trips to Bagamoyo in September 2007 and July through September 2008 I had numerous conversations with residents. Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, the importance of building rapport with potential research participants and the need to increase my own familiarity with the social milieu of Bagamoyo as a participant observer I decided that it was important to live in Bagamoyo full time as opposed to living in Dar es Salaam where the National Archives are located and simply traveling to the town to conduct interviews. In doing so, I was able to witness and participate in the daily activities of life in Bagamoyo. From *daladala* and *bajaji* rides with neighbors, to the daily routine of walking through the town center to go to the market and run other errands, I was able to gain some semblance during my stay from November 2008 through April 2009 of the everyday life of those living in Bagamoyo.²⁴

²³ Just outside the Caravan-serai is a sculpture of a male slave carrying an elephant's tusk on his back. More details concerning the contents of this room are noted in subsequent chapters.

²⁴ A *bajaji* is very similar to a motorized golf cart. It is used most often as taxi service.

Due to the two previous preliminary trips I was confident that the snowball sample technique would prove most fruitful in recruiting research participants. Initially I contacted prospective participants based on suggestions made by individuals I had met earlier. I primarily relied upon face-to-face interaction during the recruitment process during which time I scheduled interviews. In some cases, particularly among the elders, I was able to begin interviews following our initial meeting the same day. In other instances, participants would suggest individuals who might better recall a particular story or be interested in visiting with me and in these cases, I was instructed to go directly to their home, introduce myself, give my regards from the previous interviewee and ask for their participation. Finally, on some occasions, interviewees were introduced to me by friends, contacts and my two research assistants.

I found the snowball sample technique was most appropriate in that it allowed me to meet with many residents while selecting individuals who were not only willing to talk to me about their own lives but also the oft times uncomfortable topic of the town's history of slavery. However, to an extent I made use of purposive sampling (Seidman 2006; Wong 1999) when I sought out additional participants from particular villages as in the case of elders who lived in the village adjacent to the Catholic Mission and when I attempted to locate elders who had been interviewed by Father John Henschel in 1990 for a pamphlet detailing the experiences of former slaves and their descendants for the Roman Catholic Mission church and museum. In the latter case, I asked community members, museum docents and other elders interviewed about the whereabouts of five of the individuals interviewed in the pamphlet and four of the five had since passed away and the other was thought to have relocated to Morogoro region with family.

In addition, residents often recommended me to local imams, business owners and teachers as they believed these individuals to be the most educated. However, after spending

time in town I was able to convey to many participants that my interest was not so much in the “learned” or “official” history of the town and assured them that I was not looking for “right” or “wrong” answers. Instead, I was interested in hearing their stories and recording their memories, experiences and opinions.

Interviews

With the assistance of two research assistants (only one assistant accompanied me to interviews), I conducted 48 interviews with residents of Bagamoyo, eight of these interviews I conducted alone either because of scheduling conflicts with research assistants or because both the research participant and I shared nearly the same level of fluency in our second language in order to carry out the conversation comfortably and with mutual understanding. The remaining 40 interviews were conducted in Swahili with a research assistant present. While I have an intermediate level of oral fluency and am proficient in reading and writing the language, I did not want to risk misinterpreting interviewer’s responses or miss out on the opportunity to pose a follow-up question during the interview due to my level of fluency.

Of the 48 research participants, 30 were men and 18 were women. The number of male participants outnumbered the participation of women in large part due to the time spent building rapport with women in town, which is discussed in more detail in the Limitations section of this chapter. Also, women were more likely to express their discomfort with providing information because they were not formally educated and/or felt that male relatives were better positioned to answer questions. Interestingly, elder women and women attending the local arts college were more likely to engage me early during my stay in Bagamoyo in comparison with other local

women.²⁵ Participants covered a wide range of demographic characteristics in terms of age, religious faith, social class, ethnicity and years spent living in Bagamoyo. Among the participants 38 (80%) were Muslim, 6 (12%) were Roman Catholic and 4 (8 %) identified themselves as Christian. In terms of age cohorts, 17 (36%) were born between 1912 and 1939, 15 (32%) were born between 1940 and 1964, and 15 (32%) were born between 1965 and 1990. The average age of research participants was 58.3 years of age.

To assure equitable selection of subjects, I interviewed individuals from various age groups, social classes, religious faiths and ethnic groups. The main criterion for those being interviewed for the project was that they had lived in Bagamoyo for a substantial amount of time. In the case of the elders, those born between 1912 and 1939, the vast majority had either lived their entire lives in the area and others had lived in the town for over 40 years. For those participants, born between 1965 and 1990, residence in Bagamoyo for the minimum of five years became the criterion as some individuals interviewed in this age group had relocated to the town to attend the national arts college. Aside from making a concentrated effort to record the experiences of elders in the community, the research did not target a particular sex, race, social class or ethnic group. Instead, I sought out a diverse sample representative of Bagamoyo's population.²⁶

²⁵ As I became more of a fixture in town, I became more acquainted with various women in town whom shared their early misgivings and/or preconceived notions about me. In essence, it became clear that as an unaccompanied single foreign woman I had to be vetted before women particularly from my own age group would engage and/or befriend me. The fact that I stayed at a guest house owned by a teacher at the local arts college and was befriended by her family and some students helped to provide me with a home and local family to which others could assign me to.

²⁶ I received research clearance in Tanzania from Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology in December 2008 (CST/RCA 2008/144) and the Institutional Review Board at the University of Illinois in February 2009 (IRB#: 09291).

I began each interview with a discussion and review of the consent form which included details of the research, privacy concerns and questions concerning the recording of the interview. The majority of the participants asked that the consent form be read aloud to them and in these cases either I or my research assistant read the form in Swahili to the participant. Consent forms were available in both English and Swahili. For those individuals who felt uneasy about signing the form, I asked that they answer each question concerning willingness to participate and confidentiality on either video or audio tape. This situation only occurred on two occasions. Of the 48 interviews, 34 were held at the homes of the participant, eight were held at a local outdoor neighborhood bar/restaurant during “low traffic” times, two were held at the workplace of the participant and the remaining four were held in the courtyard at my place of residence.

Earlier interviews were video recorded as items from my luggage were stolen and I was without a digital tape recorder until much later during the field work. Many participants did not mind being video recorded while others just asked to have the camera record their voices and their surroundings but not their image. Only two of those interviewed asked that their names not be used in the project and in this case, those individuals are identified as *Informants 1* and *2*. Following the biographical questions, my research assistant and I followed a semi-structured question guide though we oft times followed up responses with additional questions.²⁷ Questions concerning personal experiences during colonialism or the fight for independence were not asked of individuals born after this period. In some cases, I asked participants if I might return later during my stay in Bagamoyo to ask additional questions to which all obliged.

²⁷ The interview guide is provided as an appendix. The questions listed are only a sample of the questions asked during interviews. Often times the most candid conversations between myself and research participants occurred after the formal portion of the interview was concluded and I had put the guide away. With the formal inquiry completed, conversations continued often times well over an hour and residents shared more personal aspects of their experiences as residents of the town.

Investigating the subject of slavery either in terms of the legacy of the institution, its contemporary ramifications or in relations to the historical meta-narrative is fraught with challenges. The uncertain pathway to uncovering memories of slavery can be likened to the work of a miner who delves into the deepest layers of the earth's surface seeking to excavate precious minerals despite the dangers which may coincide with doing so. For the researcher, as in the case of the miner, the challenge comes with the extraction of these resources in that the process is precarious and in the act of pulling things up, in this case memories, to the surface, thoughts become unsettled and people become unnerved in the process.

Among participants, the unnerving portion of the interview process was revealed when conversations moved from the biographical information and contemporary life in Bagamoyo to discussions about social relations between ethnic groups in the community.²⁸ Initial responses to questions about how community members fared with one another were most times met with positive responses and little additional information. However, when questions caused or initiated the need to contextualize a particular experience or response much was revealed, particularly when the information shared was based on stories and history lessons passed on by elders. Additionally, responses which proved to be integral to the understanding of Bagamoyo society came by way of the words often uttered following these responses which used slavery or the slave trade as a reference point and thus the gravity of the exercise of discussing these topics became more evident.

²⁸ It is important to note that revelations did not come to the fore immediately. As discussed, I met with many participants following the interview in informal ways. At the market, on the daladala, on a walk through town or eating a meal, it was on these occasions that some individuals were more willing to share their insights than in the formal interview process.

Early on in the interview process I began to notice that at the point in the interviews where the conversations turned to discussing issues about the significance of ancestry and religious difference in the community in the present day participants began to describe our conversations as causing them to “revive” or “relive” past pains. Initially, I thought this statement referred to emotional discomfort that narrating tales of slavery might cause. However as I soon learned, the uneasiness was due to the anticipation of possibly being asked questions about the slave heritage of either themselves or their neighbors. I of course did neither in that once rapport had been established or my presence in the town was common place, participants who were descendants of slaves most often ransomed by the Catholic Church revealed such in their own time. In addition, during the course of interviews many participants, particularly elders (some born as early as 1918) would acknowledge that I myself might come to experience discomfort as an *Amerikani nyeusi* or black American because of my own slave heritage specifically when relating stories they’d heard of violence committed against slaves who were shipped from the shores of Bagamoyo to Zanzibar and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean littoral.

The length of interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two hours. All those who were interviewed participated voluntarily and I offered no remuneration in the consent form or at any time during the interview. However, I decided to offer a small monetary gift of 3,000-5,000 Tanzanian shillings (approx. \$2.25-\$3.80 USD) at the close of the interviews as a way of showing my appreciation for the participants’ willingness to share their experiences with me. Many refused graciously and I instead bought water, soda and/or snacks to enjoy after the formal portion of the visit.

Archival Sources

The majority of documents reviewed were selected from the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam. Though the staff makes every effort to organize all available documents, due to budgetary restraints, there are inevitable challenges to working in the archives without a computerized database. Nevertheless, I initially searched for sources in the only document folder labeled slavery in which few sources were available. I can only assume that the nation's efforts to secure Bagamoyo as a world heritage site which has presently extended to the "Southern Slave Route" project has led to some of the materials to have been loaned out to domestic researchers working on the project.

However, I decided that it might be fruitful to search through the District Annual Reports on the Coastal Region which date back to 1919 and to some extents other regions of the country for any mention of slavery, emancipation and/or abolition. Interestingly, some records though not indexed as containing information about any of these three topics yielded interesting insight into the legacy of slavery in the country particularly concerning government representation, inheritance laws, marriage and access to resources. In addition, an attempt to review records at the Catholic Mission museum was made, however the presiding father of the church revealed that the materials had been moved to Chantilly, France where the founding parish and seminary of the Holy Ghost Fathers is located.²⁹ Nonetheless, I was granted permission to review the remaining materials located in both the museum and small church library. Detailed notes were taken of the sources and others were photocopied or photographed.

²⁹ Information gained from these documents has been used for some of the brochures written by Father Henschel which are sold at the Catholic Mission Museum. Paul V. Kollman (2005) has also made excellent use of the materials housed in Chantilly.

Data Analysis and Synthesis

Coding and Emerging Themes

Using a modified grounded theory approach, interviews were transcribed and reviewed shortly after each interview was conducted. Applying a modified grounded theory approach requires that the researcher allow the data gained from research participants and other sources to assist in the materialization or the generating of theory instead of beginning a given project with a set of hypotheses (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Therefore, in efforts to adequately draw from the rich data shared by participants, I took detailed field notes, looked for visual and audio cues in recorded interviews, and coded all transcripts to uncover emerging themes and constant topics revealed through interviews, informal conversations with community members and data collected from the archives.

During the coding process, I read through each interview several times. I began by taking the time to note issues which highlighted the intersections of race, class and gender. I later coded for responses which revealed how religious faith, age and membership in a particular ethnic group might impact contemporary social relations in town and implications of the legacy of slavery. I also noted particular words and stories which appeared consistently across generations and assigned codes to these portions of the interviews. Subsequent coding exercises revealed 12 themes of which there was some overlapping. In the end, chapters 3 through 5 of this dissertation discuss the three themes which not only assist in answering the aforementioned research question but also raise new inquiry. The themes which were identified include: secrets and exposure, erasure of past pain, the protection of Nyerere's vision of the nation and the relationship between lineage, status and stigma.

Karl Mannheim's (1923) generational theory offers a gateway for understanding how knowledge is passed from one age cohort to the next. In his treatment of generation as a sociological phenomenon, Karl Mannheim maintains that people are more sensitive to events that occur during their formative years than to those that occur later in the life course (Wolff 1993). He posits that specific historical events, usually occurring during adolescence through the mid-twenties, shape the perspective of the age cohort and that the generation is forever marked by the event/s, thus creating a "generational consciousness". The development of this consciousness is what comes to distinguish the age cohort from preceding and subsequent cohorts

Hence, I clustered the responses of participants based upon my working categorization of the three age cohorts noted earlier. Examining responses offered by residents born between 1912 and 1990 offered the opportunity to trace trends, similarities and differences concerning memories of slavery and viewpoints concerning its legacy in Bagamoyo across generations. Thus, those participants born 1912-1939 are the *Colonial Generation*, those born 1940-1964 are part of the *Independence Generation*, and those born between 1965 and 1990 are part of the *Structural Adjustment Generation*. While I acknowledge that I have assigned labels that members of these age cohorts might not assign to themselves, I made the decision to assign each age cohort with a label based upon three historical moments in Tanzanian history in efforts to draw distinctions between the experiences of each age cohort when appropriate in the latter chapters and in efforts to engage a discussion surrounding the transference of memory.

Ethical Considerations and Issues of Trustworthiness

In every discipline, the researcher has a responsibility to research participants and the community in which one works to maintain both personal and professional integrity. In order to do so, I made every effort to comply with the research requirements of both the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) and the university's Institutional Review Board. I worked to ensure the confidentiality of research participants and they were given the option to have their real names excluded from the research findings as presented in the dissertation and other related publications and presentations. In the two cases where the research participants opted not to have their actual names used, a pseudonym was created for each research participant. To further protect the identity of these participants, I am the only individual with access to the data key which connects the pseudonym with the actual identity of the participant. As detailed in the *Data Collection* section of this chapter, I was forthcoming with all participants about the objective of the research project and offered my personal information so that if at any time they required further explanation concerning data collection, research procedure, time commitment or confidentiality they would be able to contact me.

Limitations of the Study

An interesting revelation developed while considering the limitations of this study in that I found that in evaluating the limits of the project the significance of the intersection of my varied identities as a black American feminist woman researcher converged in a space intellectually and physically which I experienced as both confining and liberating. My presence as a single woman researcher in Bagamoyo proved in some ways difficult in that in order to bridge and at times defy gender norms I at times walked a fine line of acceptable behavior

particularly among those residents with little personal contact with foreign women. Pre-interview and scheduling meetings were often fraught with personal questions posed to me in order for the potential participant to “figure me out”. While I did not mind as I understood that I was as much a subject and the “other” as the residents of Bagamoyo were the “keepers of knowledge” to me. However, I was cautious in some regards about revealing too much about my personal life, particularly age, number of children and marital status as I already understood from preliminary research trips, that my responses to such questions could quickly classify me as either worthy or unworthy of speaking with.³⁰ Also, the presence of a male research assistant at times was beneficial when speaking with male elders but also seemed to be a hindrance when speaking with some women. In these cases, I at times returned to ask a follow-up question without an assistant.

Some scholars have examined the issue of gender in the interview process positing that being a woman could prove to be an asset when interviewing other women in that building rapport would be easier based upon a shared gendered experience (Oakley 1981; Finch 1984). However, others have noted that being a woman is not an automatic pass into the lives of research participants sharing the same gender or otherwise. Carol Warren (1988) refers to such expectations of easy rapport between two same sex parties as the focal gender myth, which also suggests that in field work women have “the greater communicative skills and less threatening

³⁰ On the way to an interview one day, I walked past an elderly woman who knew of my stay in Bagamoyo. She called me over to her doorway and asked me a number of questions. We talked until she allowed me to continue on my way and at the close of our encounter, the woman yelled out to me to finish my education because my “womb was ripe”. This woman’s appeal that I should hurry and have children before it was too late was neither the first nor the last of such warnings. Both men and women expressed an interest in my marital status, however this is the one case in which women were far more vocal.

nature” (p.64). Similarly, Catherine Kohler Riessman (1987) argues that “gender is not enough” in building trust with research participants (as cited in DeVault 1999: p. 36).

In my experience, building rapport with women, particularly those within my age cohort was indeed more difficult, than with men of any age.³¹ Therefore, the number of formal interviews I conducted with men is greater than with women and can best be explained based on availability of women given various domestic duties, the aforementioned time spent gaining rapport and some women’s belief that other individuals, particularly men would be of more assistance. However, I do suspect that had I been able to stay for a longer duration in Bagamoyo, the number of women and men interviewed may have been more even since I would have had time to more firmly situate myself in the community.

As noted at the start of this chapter, I as a women of African descent was to use Lourde’s (1984) expression, a “sister outsider”. I was welcomed as a person of shared continental African ancestry while aware that I was in many ways a representative of the West and a visual representation of the progeny of slaves shipped across either the Indian or Atlantic Ocean. As a black American I was allowed I would argue to be privy to conversations concerning racial and ethnic discord that I might not have otherwise been. Bayo Holsey (2008) speaks to a similar experience in conducting interviews pertaining to the slave trade in Ghana noting that her “blackness also allowed many to engage in racial discourses that they might not have otherwise” (p. 18). In the same way that my slave heritage, ethnicity and nationality offered me insight into

³¹There are perhaps numerous reasons behind men’s readiness and willingness to speak with me. Among which might include a certain amount of cache gained by associating with a foreigner. One of my research assistants early on in the research noted that he had felt important when walking with me through his neighborhood to visit friends. In other instances, I assume that there might also be fewer risks for men who associated with a visitor who was not yet entirely “vetted” by neighbors whereas with women the old adage of “birds of a feather flock together” might have greater ramifications if I proved to be a woman who behaved outside cultural norms and mores.

conversations about the significance of race and ethnicity in this Tanzanian community, it also may have influenced the fact that this project includes just one self-identified Arab research participant.³²

³² Despite friendships with two Baluchi families, conversations about my research were uncomfortable in that broaching the topic of slave ancestry or the role of Baluchi and/or Arab families during the trade and afterwards might require these families to speak openly about their family's history as slave owners.

Chapter Three

Identifying Freedom: Land, Labor and Lineage in Bagamoyo

*He who does not know you,
cannot value you.
-Zanzibari proverb*³³

*Give the strange slave new clothes
so that he may forget his homeland.
-Swahili proverb*³⁴

News of the involuntary servitude ordinance of 1922, which mandated the end of slavery on the mainland, came nearly eight years after Britain became trustee over Tanganyika. The ordinance was posted in a popular Swahili newspaper of the time *Mambo Leo* (Daily News or Current Affairs) and in the English paper, the *Tanganyika Gazette*. The mandate read,

This Ordinance may be cited as the Involuntary Servitude (Abolition) Ordinance, 1922. After the commencement of this Ordinance no person in the territory shall detain any person against his will in service as a slave. No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person or services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or other authority whatsoever within the Territory.³⁵

The official word of emancipation in Bagamoyo was met with reactions as varied as the social actors who continued to call the once prominent and economically prosperous coastal town home. For the formerly enslaved who remained in the employ and service of their masters, life carried on in the form of patron client relationships, while others who had not been incorporated into a household created new lives beyond the watch of their previous owners. Just as the

³³ Zanzibar, Emily Ruete Sayyida Prin. of. 2009. *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

³⁴ In Swahili the proverb reads: *Mshenzi ndiye mpya nguo ashau kwao*. WE Taylor (1891) as cited in Eastman, Carol M. 1994. "Service, Slavery ('Utumwa') and Swahili Social Reality." *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 37:87-107.

³⁵ TNA, Acc. 30231/5/34.

recently emancipated responded to the ordinance in varied ways so too did former masters. The imminent threat of the loss of property and the status which accompanied the ownership of slaves weighed heavily on benefactors of the institution of slavery as did the question of what to do with the newly freed. In fact, it is of little surprise that emancipation ushered in waves of discontent and disillusionment for not only the newly freed but for those who had once either directly or indirectly benefited from the free labor of slaves.

What would freedom look like? Who would till the soil of the numerous coconut farms and clove plantations? How would former slaves fair in a community where lineage trumps all? Where would the previously manumitted and newly freed venture? How would the colonial administration manage? Questions such as these were as much a concern to slave owners, freemen, and the newly emancipated as they were to the colonial administration if not more so. In a letter to the provincial commissioners of Tanganyika nearly twelve years after the ordinance was issued, George Maxwell, the British representative for the League of Nations Committee of Experts on Slavery described the impact of the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance. He wrote,

The application of the Ordinance has not produced the immediate and complete emancipation of all slaves, nor was it the intention that it should do so. It has, however, resulted in the abolition of slavery of compulsory slavery and there is no doubt that voluntary servitude will rapidly die out. Masters have not been compelled to emancipate their slaves or so-called slaves...The immediate and absolute abolition of slavery would have rendered large numbers of natives destitute and homeless, and the Arab and Swahili plantation owners would undoubtedly for some time at least have had difficulty in obtaining labour for their plantations....³⁶

The trepidation with which the British who had been charged with the trusteeship of Tanganyika following the end of World War I, quite similarly echoed earlier sentiments expressed by the

³⁶ TNA, Acc. 30231/5/34.

Germans upon their colonization of German East Africa in 1888.³⁷ Plagued by similar concerns German colonial officials reasoned that to immediately call for the end of slavery on the mainland would seriously disrupt the order of the day and potentially impair their relationships with the land owning elite. As such, the Germans implemented a plan for the eventual abolishment of slavery by issuing a 1905 mandate which stipulated that every child born after December 1905 would be born free.³⁸ This line of thinking reasoned that by the close of the first half of the twentieth century every slave would have died and thus so too would the institution.

However, the following demonstrates that neither colonial power, old or new could effectively erase the legacy of the slave trade or the institution of slavery by the mere stroke of the pen. This is because emancipation is as Paul Lovejoy (1981) writes, a “social process, one that cannot be analyzed as a singular act but as a continual course of action” (p.4). Emancipation was in fact, more than a lone legislative act. For some, emancipation held the promise of new beginnings by which the formerly enslaved population would be afforded free and equal access to resources, participation in the public sphere and entitlement to property. However, as history demonstrates, this ideal of freedom was not universal. Instead, the road to the aforementioned promises of emancipation proved to be one paved with contention and hostility.

For the newly emancipated membership into the free citizenry was limited in that the scope of freedom differed among and between various social actors. Thomas Holt (1992) explores various ideals of freedom and argues that understandings and experiences of

³⁷ German East Africa included Burundi, Rwanda and Tanganyika.

³⁸ The implementation of such a decree in which individuals could no longer be sold into slavery was not unique to German East Africa. Similar mandates were issued in Brazil, under the Rio Branco Law of 1881 which noted the freedom of all newborn children and freed those enslaved persons working for the Brazilian government. Other colonies including Cuba and Jamaica introduced apprenticeship as a way to gradually introduce the slave population to freedom.

emancipation differed depending upon one's membership in a particular social group. Even beyond the bounds of slavery, the significance of demonstrating one's identity as a free person was intrinsically linked to the ability to leave from and return to one's home or place of origin. In a letter to the district commissioner, a colonial officer serving in Rungwe Province of Tanganyika wrote,

No case of slavery has come to my notice, there is a native custom by which a native leaves the village in which he is born and settles for a time under a neighboring Headman, he very often is removed to a second Headman eventually returning to marry and build in the village where he was born, this is to illustrate that he is a freeman. Amongst local natives the wife goes to her husband's village to live.³⁹

Scholars have explored how the concept of autonomy as a universal goal of the emancipated and its significance was challenged by the actions of former slaves (Holt 1992; Glassman 1995; Scott 2005; Penningroth 2007). In Dylan Penningroth's (2007) comparative look at family ties and property claims in post-emancipation America and Ghana, the author argues that "slaves made demands not so much for autonomy as to become full members in local institutions of community and kinship" (p.1044). However, Fred Morton (1990) argues that the formation of maroon societies, as in the case of the Koromio settlement in Kenya counters claims by scholars who posit that freed or manumitted slaves wanted greater inclusion in the societies in which they had been enslaved. Instead freedom for many meant relocating away from the land they had once toiled and creating new communities among themselves as the case of the WaMisheni of Rabai and the freed men and women of Frere Town, Kenya (Herlehy and Morton 1988).

³⁹ TNA, Rungwe Province District Report, 1919.

Considering these actions taken by the formerly enslaved, emancipation can be likened to Christianity's ritual of baptism in which the old man is stripped away and washed clean to "become a new creature" (2 Corinthians 5:17). Metaphorically speaking, the enslaved once proclaimed free and washed by either government decree, manumitted by a dying master or released from the yoke of bondage by taking flight is rendered a new being.⁴⁰ Patrick Manning (1990) reflecting upon Orlando Patterson's notion of slavery as a "social death", too considers the experience of the freed slave as being one in which the "freed slave is reborn as a member of society, yet in that moment also dies as a slave" (113). Even the actual acts of emancipation and manumission on the coast have been philosophically questioned as one man posed the question, "How can an Arab or a white man who has taken a man away from his home give him his freedom? The only people who can give him his freedom are his own kindred, if they come to redeem him" (Alpers 1967: 26).

Emancipation was further complicated on the East African coast as both the rise of the slave trade and later the abolition of slavery occurred in the midst of German colonial expansion and British colonial acquisition. The vast expansion of the trade in East Africa and the Indian Ocean world grew tremendously in response to French and Portuguese needs for slave labor in Reunion and Mauritius. This increase in the need for slaves on the islands also led to the increase of domestic and agricultural slaves on the mainland (Alpers 1967; Cooper 1977; Manning 1990). This exponential growth in a slave population inevitably influenced every aspect of coastal life most significantly the social institutions of family, religion and economy. For the coast, late *entrée* into the full scale capitalist venture of the slave trade in the nineteenth century meant that

⁴⁰ Clearly those who escaped from masters were considered runaway/fugitive slaves. However, I am suggesting that in their own imaginings the decision to flee was one mitigated by their unwillingness to be deemed a slave thus freeing themselves.

“recovery from the ravages of slave exports took place as part of the early colonial era, rather than as a separate episode” (Manning 1990:54). As such, emancipation of the enslaved in Bagamoyo and other communities in Tanganyika, occurred at a time when the ruling elite and other freed persons were having their roles as autonomous figures challenged, thus casting all under the colonial gaze into relationships with Britain as the new foreign master.

While the 1922 decree may have rendered all men and women free, no mandate could prevent the citizenry from crafting new ways to mark the disenfranchised or perpetuate claims of higher status in efforts to maintain some semblance of power in the evolving post-emancipation social hierarchy and similarly neither could previous masters entirely prevent the newly emancipated from experiencing their new found freedom. Consequently, emancipation required a complete re-envisioning of personhood for those at every level of the social hierarchy in coastal society.

The process of emancipation in Bagamoyo provides further insight into understandings of stratification in East Africa specifically and the Indian Ocean littoral more generally in that emancipation required former owners and others of non-slave status to re-envision a social hierarchy which rearticulated the ways in which these actors defined themselves. Therefore, the following demonstrates the ways in which social actors past and present, representing a cross section of Bagamoyo’s population used actual recollections and vicarious memories of slavery to actively reconfigure the highly stratified coastal community landscape. Whether by evoking claims to links to homelands across the Indian Ocean, equivocating about religious superiority, petitioning for non-native status or challenging pre-emancipation expectations concerning land acquisition and the performance of labor, the milieu of Bagamoyo continues to be marked by memories of slavery and the trials of emancipation.

The Ties that Bind

Bagamoyo had long been a town with a diverse population. German census reports from 1893 recorded that 30-40% of the town's population was comprised of slaves (Cooper 1978; Nimtz 1980). Of the known origins of slaves on the coast, the majority were Manyema, from Congo. Ethnic groups indigenous to the coast included the Zaramo and Kwere. Those representing the higher strata of the social hierarchy based on wealth and status afforded due to Arab descent were the Omani Arabs whom were loyal to the Sultanate, the Shiriri from Yemen and the Baluchi who had arrived from the area which makes up the modern day border of Iran and Pakistan. The Baluchis arrived on the coast as porters and soldiers of the Omani Sultanate during the early nineteenth century. Groups from India also made up a small segment of the town's population as during the Sultan's reign he encouraged the immigration of Indians to settle in Zanzibar and elsewhere on the coast.⁴¹

The Shomvi-Shirazi held ties to Somalia and were considered the ancient rulers of the area. Finally, the town was comprised of the Swahili whose identity has been the subject of much debate among scholars.⁴² In the simplest of explanations, the Swahili are those whom are the progeny of the intermarriages between Africans, Persians and Arabs as a result of increased trade and subsequent formation of settlements dating back to the eighth century. As to be expected of identity markers, notions of what makes one a Swahili or not have shifted overtime even to the

⁴¹ James Brennan (2002) explains that classification of this group shifted during colonization. South Asians began to classify themselves as "Asians" rather than "Indian" following the 1947 partition of India. He also points out that the Asian was a legal category during the colonial period and South Asians hoped that identifying as Asian would promote solidarity between Muslims and Hindus living in Tanganyika (Brennan 2002:1).

⁴² For more on concerning Swahili identity please see, (Allen 1993; Horton and Middleton 2000).

extent that the term itself has moved from being one denoting class and culture to being viewed and used as a pejorative (Fair 2001).⁴³

A cursory review of the ethnic makeup of Bagamoyo at the time of emancipation is important because it was in part due to such diversity that these groups worked to differentiate themselves based upon ancestry and religious belief. Unlike the trans-Atlantic trade where phenotypical difference laid the foundation for articulating difference between Europeans and Africans, the exercise in outlining difference among coastal residents required an emphasis on factors that included but went beyond the hue of captives. Cooper elaborates that “racial distinctions were recognized but they were a rough guide to a person’s status or group affiliation” (1977:267). Nevertheless, there existed a racialized social structure which equated power and privilege with ancestral ties to the Arab world by slave holders in the Indian Ocean diaspora which was maintained by assertions of cultural superiority (Alpers 1975).

On the Swahili coast, claims of descent from the Middle East or claims of being the indigenous inhabitants of an area along the coastal shore offered one entrée into a world of presumed privilege. “A claim of Arab status”, Glassman writes, “had connoted an absence of slave ancestry and possession of wealth and power that had come, at least in part, from the possession of slaves” (2010: 186). Therefore, increasing numbers of coastal inhabitants worked to craft genealogies with roots in countries of the Middle East such as present day Oman, United Arab Emirates and Iran. Furthermore, it mattered not if these roots could be proven rather what was important was the ability to appear as if they were true. Again, if these were the markings of

⁴³ Of all the people I interviewed and came to know in Bagamoyo, only three referred to themselves or one of their parents as being Swahili. However, in folklore shared about the coast, reference to the “Swahili” was far more common.

elite status then the opposite remained true for the enslaved because “slave status connoted an ancestral background of barbarism, which is to say ancestral origins in the African interior, outside the world of Islam” (Glassman 2010:186).

Islam was and is a dominant feature of coastal culture. Claims of superiority and inferiority were perpetuated by claims of religious superiority which in turn reduced non-believers, most often the recently enslaved that had been captured further inland to caricatures of the human species. Hence, cultural domination in Bagamoyo as in other slave societies was marked by the ability of those in power to substantiate such claims by promoting the inferiority of the enslaved (Omi and Winant 1994; Guillaumin 1995). By presenting the enslaved, particularly those who had yet to become Muslim, as naïve beings, the enslaved oft times took on the characterization of the guileless child and slave holders as the benevolent paternal figure. The idyllic portrayal of such figures supported the paternalist structure of slavery and was integral to the maintenance of slavery along the Swahili coast (Cooper 1981; Glassman 1995; Deutsch 2010).

Using the Koran, as support, those who benefited from the enslavement of others promoted religious ideas which presented the slave holder as a pious man fulfilling his religious duty of nurturing and at times converting the enslaved. Cooper (1981) asserts, that those of planter origins on the coast believed that their supposed better treatment of their enslaved Muslim brethren and incorporation into the kinship network, though limited, were benevolent acts supported by Quranic scripture. Along the coast, even those slaves whom converted to Islam were seen as closer to nature and thus not privy to the complexities of scriptures (Glassman 1995). Instead, they were offered rudimentary forms of Islam and quoted scriptures, as were those enslaved by Christians in the Atlantic world which affirmed that their lot as a slave was in

fact a manifestation of God's will (Romero 1986). Therefore, religious superiority as well as biases based on lineage were used to highlight the differences between the civilized master and the inferior and uncivilized slave (Willis 1985; Lovejoy 2004; Diouf 2004).

Orlando Patterson describes slavery as "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons" (1982:13). As such, the ascription of slave status effectively removed any links and/or claims to a life prior to enslavement. A loss of home and family, in essence created the necessary alienation required to enact control over the enslaved. Thus, the removal of the enslaved from their homeland rendered the slave a "genealogical isolate" (Patterson 1982:5). No longer able to trace blood lines, make contact with a formidable set of kin who could free them of their circumstance, those enslaved on the Swahili coast would find that survival necessitated the ability to lay claim to the household of the master.

Socialization, the process by which individuals are taught the norms, mores and values of a particular institution, is most often the initial responsibility of the family unit. In the case of slaves on the coast, this remained constant though the family unit was more exactly the household of the slave owner which included the immediate kin and all other slaves, servants and concubines. While enslavement oft times resulted in the dissolution of biological familial arrangements and linkages, slavery on the coast required the incorporation of slaves into the familial structures of the master. This emphasis on attachment and loss of a former identity placed the enslaved in a predicament which required ways to regain a semblance of what had been lost due to enslavement in the form of new relationships between master and slave.

Incorporation into the household of the master served multiple purposes. First, coastal communities were composed of communal groups, which were "closely knit bodies that shared a sense of common origins and identity" (Cooper 1977:5). Unlike kinship groups, the communal

grouping did not necessitate the sharing of a common ancestor, instead as formulated on the coast; households included all who fell under the protection and/or ownership of the head of the household. For land owning elite, greater status was afforded to those who maintained large households in that their ability to do so was a marking of not only wealth but *heshima* (Farrant 1975; Cooper 1977).⁴⁴ The incorporation of slaves also added to the number of not only the progeny of slave unions but also to the number of free men and women within the household. The master of the household was allowed under Islam to marry up to four wives as well as to take slave women as concubines. The children that were born not only of the wives but also the concubine women as well were born free and considered legitimate.⁴⁵

The ways in which the enslaved came to be categorized is integral to understanding the emphasis placed on the acquisition of social status and the significance of origin noted by either birthplace or lineage in coastal society, among both slaves and masters. For example, as slavery became embedded in coastal society, distinctions were made between the enslaved based upon whether they were *wakulia*, brought to the coast as children, *wazalia* born along the coast, or *washenzi* the uncivilized brought from the interior (Cooper 1977; Mwinyi Bakari 1981;

⁴⁴ *Heshima* is defined as honor or respect.

⁴⁵ The origins of concubines varied. Sayyid Said bin Sultan Al-Said of Muscat and Oman had nearly 50 concubines of which two of his sons, Barghash and Majid were born. These two sons were born of a Circassian slave and the latter an Ethiopian slave. Both sons would later succeed their father as seyyids of the Sultanate in Zanzibar. Unlike the hypo descent decree or “one drop” rule in the United States, the child born of the union of master and slave was not only free but was afforded all rights.

Glassman 1995; Deutsch 2006).⁴⁶ Despite these categories, the goal particularly among male slaves was to gain greater social legitimacy through craftsmanship or religious standing in order to be deemed *ustarabu*, civilized.⁴⁷ Indeed, the label of *ustarabu*, achieved primarily through acculturation through Islam afforded greater opportunities for inclusion in coastal society for some slaves.

Social integration was vital to the construction of social identities of the enslaved as well as their owners. The incorporation of slaves into coastal life became part and parcel to maintaining a hegemonic social order which marked the privileges of the free and the subservient position of the enslaved while simultaneously crafting fictive kinships between master and slave. Thus, incorporation of both slaves and their descendants “lacked neither tension nor contradictions” as incorporation did not necessitate the elimination of one’s classification as a slave nor did it always relegate one to a life without kinship ties (Miers and Kopytoff 1977:28). These inherent contradictions are evidenced by the varied identities and roles of the enslaved. Of such Cooper (1977) asks,

What then was a slave? He or she could be a field hand working in a gang under the master’s eye, or urban laborer working on his own. He could be a caravan leader, whom his master trusted to serve him in distant lands, or he could be a caravan porter on whom the master counted for money and little else. He or she could be a domestic servant, whose presence contributed to the prestige of the

⁴⁶ The classification of slaves points to the importance of incorporation into a kinship network. For those slaves who were recent arrivals it was likely that they had yet to convert to Islam and were without knowledge of the cultural mores of the coastal community, whereas the *wakulia* had an increased familiarity with both Islam and the social norms of life along the Swahili coast. Despite the end of slavery, distinctions between those born along the coast and those from the interior are still significant. In some interviews both men and women spoke of the beauty and “power” of coastal women and also attributed the actions of others based on whether one was considered Swahili or being from the interior or upcountry.

⁴⁷ Carol Eastman (1994) provides a sociolinguistic study of these varying terms concerning the transformations of the world *utumwa* (slavery). She argues that the word *uungwana* (civilized) later became replaced by the word *ustaarabu* (Arabness).

household, or he could be a retainer on whose loyalty the master relied whenever conflict arose. She could be the mother of her master's child (P. 199).

These assorted duties and expectations of the slave population not only demonstrate the diverse ways slaves operated in coastal society but how their ability to do so was in large part due to the malleability of fictive kinship ties and the less restrictive nature of physical mobility which in turn increased the daily social interaction between the enslaved and the free both in public and private.

From the bonds of marriage, to the social ties of the family unit and the communal links of religious affiliation, the ability to gain and/or retain membership in a particular kinship network was central to the construction of identities among the enslaved and newly emancipated. This link between master and slave was fortified by the paternalistic nature of coastal slavery which fostered a sense of dependency and kinship which reinvented itself through patron/client relationships or as Cooper (1977) describes a relationship of "guardianship" following emancipation. This relationship was one which sustained in some respect the previous relationship between owner and slave due to its reciprocal nature. Meaning, in order for the notion of incorporation to take root there had to be "buy in" on the part of the enslaved. The institution of slavery allowed the master to add to the sum of his household, income and status and in return the institution as it was developed on the coast and under the veil of Islam required a level of commitment to the well-being of the slave.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The Koran dictates that manumitted slaves are still beholden to their previous masters as are former masters responsible for their former slaves particularly during times of hardship.

And the Meek shall inherit the Earth?

For many slaves and owners alike, the 1922 ordinance did not absolve either from certain obligations both deemed necessary in order to continue to be counted as a part of the household. For the once enslaved who saw their affiliation to the household of the master as an integral component of their own identity, demonstrations of loyalty and deference were performed and acts of charity and protection were expected of the former owner. In many cases manumitted persons were given a piece of land to use. This land, known as a *wakf* was not a requirement of owners who manumitted slaves but often some sort of tangible item either land or money was given as a demonstration of the generosity of the master which could also help to ensure the allegiance of the freed man or woman.

It is my assertion that this *wakf* or “*uhuru na kitu*” was also significant in that it was an additional way to maintain the varied or gradated levels of status among actors on the coastal stage (Cooper 1977: 248).⁴⁹ The highly stratified nature of coastal society was predicated on the ability of the elite to grant to those on the margins of society entrée to levels closer to the center or to at the very least give the perception of doing so. In order to do so acts such as manumission could to some extent lead slaves to be of good service to their master so that they might eventually be granted freedom. As Jonathan Glassman (2010) suggests, the social structure of coastal society can best be conceptualized as a continuum, in that the newly arrived African slave from the interior was to the left and the land owning elite with claims to Arab or Persian ancestry was placed to the right.⁵⁰ This continuum allowed for all actors to the right of the latter to

⁴⁹ Cooper describes that during an interview on the coast, one informant described the giving of land as *uhuru na kitu*, meaning “freedom with something”.

⁵⁰ Glassman (1995) builds upon Miers and Kopytoff’s (1977) presentation of the continuum in regards to social relations and the institution of slavery.

envision the possibility of lateral ascension from their current station in life. The categorization of slaves based on origin, faith and acculturation provides such evidence. Finally, manumission was not the only way however that the enslaved could increase their standing. The diverse nature of the work of slaves could improve their chances of owning income apart from what was due to their owner and in these cases they would be able to purchase land and in some cases purchase their own freedom.⁵¹

Writing of emancipation in the West Indies, Marx (1973) wrote that the newly freed had “ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage labourers but, instead self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption” (p.362). Whether considering the life of the emancipated in the Caribbean or along the Swahili coast, the efforts made by formerly enslaved men and women to either acquire or simply maintain a piece of land on which crops could be grown for both sustenance and profit was a common marker of increased autonomy. The ability to prove one’s ability to provide for self and family points to not only the agency of emancipated and manumitted persons but also challenged notions of inferiority and claims that the recently freed were incapable of providing for themselves without the aid of a master. Most assuredly, these acts challenged racist notions such as those shared by the German explorer and colonial administrator Karl Peters who remarked that “the African is a born slave, who needs his despot like an opium addict needs his pipe” (as cited in Illife 1979:150).

However, slavery scholars have demonstrated how enslaved persons have challenged their circumstances by vying for their freedom and providing for themselves and their families (Fick 2000; Deutsch 2006; Brana-Shute and Sparks 2009). For instance, historian Jessica

⁵¹ The purchasing of one’s freedom was also practiced in the American south. Slaves in Cuba were also able to purchase their freedom after placing an initial down payment in a practice known as *coartacion* (Scott 1985).

Millward's (forthcoming) work on slave women in early colonial Maryland details how the ability of manumitted slave women to provide for both themselves and their children was often times a requirement for manumission. Millward demonstrates that manumitted women worked to prove what she calls, their "self-sufficiency" by finding work as either domestics or wage laborers in order to protect not only their free status but as importantly to keep their families together.

Other freedmen and women worked the very plots they had while enslaved and continued living on the land of their former masters. Others either with money given to them at the time of manumission or earned while being hired out by their master purchased small plots of their own while others still made the transition from "slaves to squatters" (Cooper 1977; Cooper 1980; Fair 2001). Similar to the sharecroppers of the American south following slavery, the ability to own land and earn a living was a goal to which citizens regardless of ethnicity or race aspired.

The issue of landownership and emancipation also converged over the matter of inheritance laws. Alongside petitions to the colonial government from slave holders from various ethnic groups expressing the gravity of the mandate and its impact on their socio-economic welfare was also the desire of slave owners to protect claims to possessions belonging to deceased former slaves. A statute of the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance clearly outlined the illegality of any attempt to usurp the properties of former slaves,

No person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling or profession, or by inheritance assignment gift or bequest, shall be disposed of it or prevented from taking possession of it on the ground that he or the person from the whom the property may have been derived (is or) was a slave.⁵²

⁵² TNA, Acc. 30231/5/34.

However, this decree did not prevent former owner's attempts to acquire the property of former slaves by presenting their relationships with the deceased as one based on familial ties and not servitude.

In 1934, the head of the Sukuma Federation wrote to the colonial district office requesting that the British reconsider the mandate by highlighting the effect it would have on the Sukuma.⁵³ The letter begins,

We pray you, Sir, that what follows may be forwarded to the Government, as we wish to explain to this Government the Wasukumas' former relations with their slaves, and how they used to treat them, and how they treat them to-day. Even we are ready to admit that slavery is bad, and yet we Wasukuma continue to live with slaves left us by our fathers, although the Government has liberated them. However, they have not left their masters as they remain from their respect for them, and from consideration of the fact that the latter treated them as well as if they were their brothers."⁵⁴

The letter highlights that slavery according to the Sukuma was quite different from Western understandings of enslavement in that it looked very little like chattel slavery of the Atlantic world and that the enslaved of the Sukuma were in fact family and not property. The Sukuma's desire to articulate what enslavement was presents an interesting case because it was important to the Sukuma to demonstrate the ways slaves were very often incorporated into the households of their master.⁵⁵ As significantly, this letter also reflects the interest slave owners had in protecting

⁵³ The Sukuma are the largest ethnic group in Tanzania who reside for the most part in the Rungwe district. This letter includes an appeal for compensation from the government from the revenue lost due to the mandate. Owners along the coast and in Zanzibar received compensation for the loss of slave labor; however at the time of this letter the Sukuma had not requested compensation. I assume the Sukuma had not initially taken the mandate seriously or had not considered that the mandate would mean that they would no longer be able to lay claims to inherit any possessions of their slaves.

⁵⁴ TNA, Acc. 20938, Letter from Sukuma Federation to Acting Provincial Commissioner, 1932.

⁵⁵ Further details of the letter describe how it was not uncommon for a slave of a chief to eventually gain a position of leadership and authority.

future losses in income which would have been afforded to them following the death of their slaves.

Emancipation shifted the identities of the social actors at each end of the aforementioned continuum requiring a reorientation of roles as the slave owner became an employer and the slave a free agent (Holt 1992). As the shift in labor expectations occurred so too did the relationship between property ownership, socio-economic mobility and ethnic identity. For instance, on the island of Zanzibar, Laura Fair (2001) notes that census records during the first half of the twentieth century reflect a correlation between shifts in claims of Swahili identity and the ability to own land. Concerning a 1924 census, she explains,

men who identified themselves to enumerators as Swahili were nearly five times as likely to own their own farms as those who identified themselves as Nyasa, Yao or Manyema. By 1924, 88 percent of those who continued to define themselves as members of ethnic communities associated with slavery still lived on someone else's land and performed work associated with slavery. (Fair 2001: 34).

The above highlights how land ownership in some form or another afforded former slaves and other non-elites the opportunity to claim an identity to which they believed would yield greater chances at social inclusion and open up access to networks otherwise inaccessible to them. Joane Nagel (1994) explains,

The notion that ethnicity is simply a personal choice runs the risk of emphasizing agency at the expense of structure. In fact, ethnic identity is *both* optional and mandatory, as individual choices are circumscribed by the ethnic categories available at a particular time and place. That is, while an individual can choose from among a set of ethnic identities, that set is generally limited to socially and politically defined ethnic categories with varying degrees of stigma or advantage attached to them. In some cases, the array of available ethnicities can be quite restricted and constraining" (P. 156)

The fact that those without claims to property continued to lay claim to ethnic identities which most assuredly marked them as former slaves is illuminating in that there seems to have existed an understanding that the possession of land, whether verified by the state authorities or otherwise gave one the right to other claims of citizenship while those former slaves who had yet to acquire land continued to exist in a state of limbo, hovering all the more closer to the left of the continuum.⁵⁶

Nonetheless, former slaves quite often utilized their agricultural experience, conceptualizations of freedom and desire for autonomous lives to develop new communities or renegotiate their circumstances. An example of such is offered by Catherine Besteman (1999) who describes in her work on the Gosha people in Somalia's Jubba valley that former slaves created communities in which they cultivated the land improving the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient. In fact their participation in agricultural labor was a continuation of work performed by the Gosha during enslavement as farming among the free community was considered an "occupation inferior to nomadic pastoralism" (p.119). Similarly, Bruce Hall (2011) details how farming was also viewed as a denigrated form of work among the Tuareg of Northern Mali, who considered it a task for the *bellah*, those of slave origins and given this, following emancipation former slaves gained access to lands which they were able to develop into successful farming communities (p.8).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The case for claiming a Swahili identity or Shirazi or even Wahadimu, or other island ethnic identity was one which was in fact fluid. Identity claims were influenced by the colonial order of the day, access to rations particularly during the interwar period and later government loans and representation in the colonial Legislative Council (Fair 2001). Discussing the fluidity of claims of particular ethnic heritage is difficult in that I do not wish to present the move to claim one identity over another in a way that presents ethnic ties as instrumentalist.

⁵⁷ Hall further notes that following the rebellion of the early 1990s the Tuareg returned to these lands making claims to land ownership despite decades long residence by the indigenous and formerly enslaved.

As in the case of Zanzibar, the experiences of the Gosha and the various enslaved peoples of the Sahel, the relationship between land ownership, farming and identity construction did and continues to play a significant role in contemporary Bagamoyo. Deemed among some as “the work of slaves”, farming, particularly on land which belongs to someone else is not greatly favored in Bagamoyo, a community where fishing, dhow building and agriculture are among the main sources of income. I first became aware of the perception that farming was not looked upon favorably while visiting the Caravan-serai, the local government museum in Bagamoyo. In a room dedicated to the history of the slave trade and slavery in Tanzania and more specifically Bagamoyo, there is a large poster describing the impacts of slavery in the town. Among the statements listed was the declaration that “many descendants of slaves consider farming to be the work of slaves”. The statement seemed odd as I had walked throughout the town and witnessed a local community garden not far from the bus terminal, visited with local men and women selling produce at the market and read that the local economy relied upon fishing and farming. In addition, development reports indicate that nearly 80% of Tanzanians participate in the agricultural sector. In order to assess whether the notion that agricultural work is in fact looked at as lowly work, I raised the question during interviews. Mzee Patrick Katembo, born in 1917 replied to my inquiry

If someone is of those views he is lost. Adam, you remember when they were in the garden that Adam was told you will sweat to live...Now you know farming is the most sacred work because without farming how could you get your food? We eat beans, we get rice from Mbeya but it's a result of farming. Where would we get them without farming? Even in America they work on farms, I remember one year we got assistance from America we were brought yellow maize, so farming; farming is [above] any other work. (personal communication, January 6, 2009).

Conversely, twenty something Muhsin responded to the question of farming, “Yeah, that is true, it is why people in Bagamoyo are not used to doing heavy loads of work, and this is due

to the Arabs. The Arabs left a culture of lordship.” (personal communication, February 11, 2009). Between these two divergent views a pattern emerged where older respondents reveled in the merits of farming and being able to provide for the family while younger respondents explained that while farming was necessary, it was in fact work that many did not prefer to do. The differences between the two age cohorts might best be explained by the trend among younger Bagamoyo residents who expressed desires to eventually relocate to Dar es Salaam, open their own small businesses, continue their studies at East African universities or study abroad. I would suggest that aspirations for more “cosmopolitan” experiences beyond the small town of Bagamoyo helps to explain the difference in attitude towards agricultural work. Additionally, whereas many elders owned their homes and adjacent lots, the majority of those within the 18-40 age cohorts either lived in the homes of family members or rented rooms or homes in the area. Thus, the option of even considering agricultural work even if only for self-sustenance was not a viable one.

Overall, most prevalent in responses was the emphasis placed on the grueling nature of farming and the level of tenacity required to farm. The majority were of the opinion that it was not working the fields or farm which likened one to a slave. Instead it was the perception that toiling land which belonged to someone else that reduced one metaphorically to a slave. As another interviewee explained,

Farming is not associated with slavery. To be in slavery is to be told what to do. When you farm it is you who decides to do that. No one is forcing you to do that. That is different from slavery. (personal communication, January 24, 2009)

Thus, the ability to make autonomous decisions in regards to one’s well-being and personal circumstances is as the woman above expressed as much a marker of freedom and choice in

contemporary Bagamoyo as it had been for formerly enslaved populations throughout the diaspora.

Central to determining the ways in which vicarious memories of slavery manifest in post emancipation communities is examining the spaces in which those from varying social groups are most likely to interact on a regular basis. In the case of Bagamoyo, these places are none other than places in which wage labor is performed. As is the case in many post-emancipation societies, the accumulation of wealth and access to resources by groups who were seen as benefactors of the trade and/or having capitalized on privileges gained during colonial era sanctioned disenfranchisement is the source of much resentment. For residents in contemporary Bagamoyo, the unequal distribution of wealth is marked by the availability and/or lack of employment opportunities.

Previously, I noted the ways in which slaves and the recently freed could access resources and amass wealth despite their station in life; however, this was not the norm. In contemporary Bagamoyo, the wealthier of residents are those whom lay claim to an Arab descent line.⁵⁸ These families own various enterprises including but not limited to small internet cafes, stores, large farms, export businesses largely shipping to the Middle East and small scale transportation companies. By and large, to gain a position working for one of these families yields for some benefits which outweigh the lower income often earned working for these business owners (personal communication, February 4, 2009). An interview with a college educated resident in his early forties proved to bring clarity to this issue. He shared,

⁵⁸ This is not to suggest that Tanzanians of mainland origin in Bagamoyo are not experiencing economic success. For example, Bibi Mary, with whom I lived during my stay owned and operated a successful local guest house while teaching dance at the local arts college.

because of poverty you will find most of the Afro-Arabs own these vessels for shipping and the people who do the actual work are the African families' children. You find these African parents tend to seek mostly financial assistance from these people. Let's say they have a patient in the hospital or if they have a court case or if they have any problem which can be solved by money, they tend to seek help from those people. Then there is the tendency to say "my child don't trouble them". This is also because they hold these small scale enterprises like garages and milling machines, maybe something like that or cattle farms, so parents tend to take their children and asks for jobs from these Afro-Arabs so that is the situation you find and he will work for little pay because he knows that when he gets problems he will go there. This I know and this I witness (personal communication, January 24, 2009).

This account of contemporary relations is significant in that it offers insight into not only the intersections of race and class, but also draws attention to the role of socialization in the construction of identity and demonstrates how relationships between employers and workers mirror patron-client relationships of the past.⁵⁹ Finally, in terms of the labor, the link between the legacy of slavery and the current economic social structure is also evident in that the ownership of businesses which employ residents are largely held by the families of historically prominent families whom as revealed in private conversations are either presumed to be the progeny of slave traders and owners or in the very least are described as treating their workers in a less than satisfactory manner (personal communication, February 4, 2009).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The warnings of avoiding conflict with Afro-Arabs families in this instance refers to the how conflicts with such families could prove to be detrimental to the economic well-being of a family whose family members were employees of an Afro-Arab employer. In other instances, college aged interviewees made mention of how gender dynamics shifted between Afro-Arab men and African women and vice versa on the dating scene due in large part to presumed status and wealth.

⁶⁰ Nimitz argues that colonial policies ensured that Arab community maintained "some, if not all, of their economic prestige" particularly in Zanzibar (1980:48). In addition, Indians who had migrated to the coast at the encouragement of the Sultanate in the second half of the nineteenth century continued to own vast properties including plantations. The continued prosperity of Indian financiers on the Swahili coast provided the Arab community with the capital needed to support their business ventures just as they had during the slave trade when money was needed to finance caravans and other commercial enterprises.

The attribution of mistreatment or the unbalanced relationship between employer and worker to the legacy of slavery is one that has been at play since emancipation. For instance, Michael Lofchie (1965) suggests that the

most vivid historical memory of the mainland African community...was that Arabs were the instigators and perpetrators of the East African slave trade. Mainlanders were frequently aware that their own presence as a community in Zanzibar was largely attributable either to the Arab slave trade or to the need for immigrant agricultural labor in the Arab clove fields” (P. 170)

The case of minimum employment opportunities and the control of the labor market is an important issue in the exploration of the ways vicarious memories of slavery come to the fore in that through employment individuals are better able to consider the possibilities of improving upon their life circumstances. To be clear, a look at the role of labor options and perceptions of status given to certain types of employment is significant because just as the work performed by marginalized populations during the era of slavery marked their denigrated status so too have current labor conditions informed how residents perceive themselves in relation to their neighbors. Therefore, it is imperative that “the matter of work, and work for the benefit of who, be considered and reconsidered objectively and subjectively in terms of perceived justice and injustice, in slavery and freedom, within and without Christian communities, and in light of privileges and vulnerabilities...” (Wright 1993:4).

Forging New Alliances

Prior to emancipation “personal ties of superior to inferior were closer than those among the slaves themselves” given the need for attachment to the master for protection and affiliation (Cooper 1977:154). As such, no distinct social group emerged among slaves in Bagamoyo. However, after emancipation there were other ways otherwise marginalized groups including the

recently freed came to organize themselves during this period of transformation.⁶¹ The most prevalent of these groups I assert were the Islamic brotherhoods and the ethnic associations which became more significant following British trusteeship.

Due to the nature of indirect rule implemented by the British, the Native Authority Ordinance (1926) and the Native Courts Ordinance (1929) were created to aid in the management of the affairs of Tanganyikans at the local, regional and national level as the Native Authority was entrusted with executive and legislative powers (Illife 1979; Tripp 1999). The Native Authority was composed of leaders often times selected by the groups they represented, however final say over all matters remained in the hands of British colonial administrators. Meaning at any time and for any reason, the administrators could rescind decisions made by local leaders, and replace leaders with individuals selected by the administration. Despite the significance of this form of governance, many Tanganyikans created and/or joined previously established organizations with leaders and memberships which reflected their personal interests. Therefore, the following discusses the emergence of the Qadiriyya brotherhood and three ethnic associations and the ways in which these organizations provided spaces for the development of new linkages to occur, linkages which many times relied upon vicarious memories of slavery. Finally, an examination of these organizations and their membership is necessary to this discussion because “an understanding of how groups of people see other groups in relation to themselves must begin by analyzing the pattern of their social relation” (Fields 1982:149).

⁶¹ Cooper (1977) notes that slaves did not become a social group in coastal society because slave owners managed to keep slaves from joining together because they “did not try to deal directly with plantation architecture-justifying slavery in terms of the need for labor; instead, it assimilated the plantation to older forms of dependence, putting it in the context of a system of social relations between superior and inferior” (p. 284).

One of the most immediate ways in which the elite in town worked to highlight the difference between themselves and the formerly enslaved population and other Africans from the mainland was to request their own *liwali*.⁶² Following British control, the position of *liwali* in Bagamoyo came to encompass the responsibilities of the *qadi* well.⁶³ Shifts in the colonial administration made the *liwali* responsible for both the judicial and administrative duties required by the colonial administration as well as adjudicating matters involving Islamic law (Nimtze 1980:37). Since 1911, Sheikh Ramiya, leader of the Qadiriyya brotherhood had served as the *liwali* of Bagamoyo; however his eventual resignation in 1928 coupled with shifts in British management of the Native Authority opened up conversations about the classification of those who did not wish to be considered native or be locally governed by an African. These parties included those who identified themselves in a petition to the district commissioner's office as the "Arab, Shihiri and Baluchi communities of Bagamoyo".⁶⁴

In a petition signed by 30 individuals representing these communities, the group requested that Akida Gulmarasul Sherdel, a Baluchi of Kaole "be conferred with powers to adjudicate over us" and to "extend his jurisdiction as may be deemed fit, i.e. to judge and settle civil and criminal matters among us as well as the natives".⁶⁵ These groups, organized as a united entity contested the appropriateness of an African presiding over civil cases in which they were involved. Therefore they posited that an African should only serve as an arbitrator in cases

⁶² *Liwali*, a religious magistrate.

⁶³ *Qadi*, an Islamic leader who presides over domestic issues such as marriage and divorce.

⁶⁴ TNA, Acc. 1/E/163

⁶⁵ Ibid. The town of Kaole is located just three miles south of Bagamoyo. It is noted for 15th century Islamic ruins which included a mosque and other artifacts from the period. The children and grandchildren of Gulamarasul still own property and land in Kaole.

in which one of the parties was an African arguing that the ‘native’ should not possess jurisdiction over any individuals represented by these three groups. The request for the reduction in the judiciary powers of an African liwali and a shift in representation to “one of their own” was also central to growing concerns of these groups that they were gradually moving into the classification of native under the British colonial system. As the British provincial commissioner explained in government correspondence

Many persons of the communities in question may be considered to be Swahili; on the other hand there are those of full Arab or Baluchi blood who would resent their classification as Swahili, and therefore as native for the purpose of the Courts Ordinance...”⁶⁶

Hence, this petition was driven as much by the desire to act autonomously from the so-called native population as it was to prevent anyone from outside the three groups listed in the petition from being appointed to the position of liwali.

Though the development of a “slave class” had been kept at bay, through the possibilities of eventual manumission or as previously discussed the creation of fictive familial linkages between masters and slaves prior to the 1922 ordinance, the eventuality of common interests groups forging together was definite. With the introduction of emancipation and the shift to a new colonial regime, these three groups, all of whom claimed some sort of lineage connected to the Arab world initiated the creation of a distinct socio-political group based I argue as much on their desire to protect their economic interest as well as their need to differentiate themselves from their African neighbors whom for them bore the “past mark of original unbelief carried

⁶⁶Ibid. A posting in the Tanganyika Territory Gazette noted that the colonial administration had determined that a native status marked one as “a native of Africa and includes a Swahili and a Somali”.

forward by means of lineage” (Hall 2011:87).⁶⁷ For while the commonalities between the Baluchi, Shihiri, and Arab communities included connection to the homeland of the Prophet Muhammad, the most significant tie at the signing of the petition was to clearly denote to the British that they were not to be confused with the very Africans with whom they had intermarried and lived with and among for in some cases centuries.⁶⁸

The implementation of colonial policies which required the classifying of the population of Tanganyika drove those groups who claimed Arab lineage to aggressively challenge any colonial mandates which would subject them to classification as Africans. At the most basic level, the administration had opted as it had in its other colonies to divide/classify the population between native and non-natives. Who were natives? What were the residency requirements? How might one distinguish a Shirazi from a Swahili or an Omani Arab from a more recently arrived immigrant from the Hadhramaut? These concerns fell less to the new government and more to those social groups which feared losing their prestige and access to resources if deemed to be merely a native of Tanganyika. The following demonstrates how efforts to prove non-native status proved tenuous, further highlighting the ideals which had supported the enslavement of ‘natives’ and the elevated status of those of Arab lineage. In addition, the ensuing portion of this chapter also considers how the establishment of the Qadiriyya and other

⁶⁷ Though writing of the Sahel, Bruce Hall (2011) makes an interesting argument concerning the development of racial arguments and ideas over the course of four centuries. He asserts that “ideas about race came to adhere to notions of lineage and descent that did not necessarily correspond to observable-or “present”-skin color. In other words, race functioned as a kind of local ethnography that was especially useful in negotiating the diversity of the Sahel, and in “fixing” status distinctions and networks based on them that were essential to the commercial and intellectual traffic across the region” (p.30).

⁶⁸ The fact that Africans of varying ethnic groups also held slaves though perhaps not the magnitude of land owning Arab elites, yet were not included in the organizing efforts of the Arabs, Shihiri and Baluchi also points to the fact that the creation of the group was not one solely invested in creating solidarity among the upper class or more wealthy for if that had been the case, the group might have proposed organizing with the wealthy whom did not claim such a heritage.

organizations including the African Association utilized abolitionist discourse, religious rhetoric and allusions to slavery to challenge the ideologies of superiority promoted by both their ‘non-native’ neighbors and the colonial state.

Nineteen years following the legal end of slavery, the cleavage between groups remained a source of contention and political disunity even under a common colonial master. A district annual report reads,

There is a wide gulf between the detribalized semi-literate town native who apes modes of life foreign to him, and the tribal native living under his hereditary headmen. The former regards the latter as an uncouth ignoramus and is himself regarded as an ill-mannered parvenu.⁶⁹

The division between the aforementioned petitioners and others in Bagamoyo was not a peculiar circumstance which only affected the town but as a letter from the African Association in Dar es Salaam reveals, the decision of the Arab, Shihiri and Baluchi residents to seek separate representation was influenced in some degree by the legacy of the slave trade and its institution.

As the African Association secretary acerbically explained in 1930,

An Arab always looks down upon an African within or without a slave or putting it frankly an “inferior” in all respects and therefore what justice and good treatment can the latter expect from the former unless a European officer spends his whole time checking him, to see that justice is equally divided upon litigants.⁷⁰

This response grew out of a petition in which the African Association chapter in Dar es Salaam noted several reasons why Africans should not be represented by an Arab but rather an African. This concern was expressed because according to the African Association not only did Arabs treat Africans as inferior but additionally, the organization argued that there were more Africans

⁶⁹ TNA, Bagamoyo District Annual Report 1941.

⁷⁰ TNA, 13632.

with a “sounder knowledge of Mohamedan law than the majority of the Arabs”.⁷¹ In addition, they maintained that the majority of cases heard by the qadi in Dar es Salaam were Africans since Arabs opted to have their cases heard by the Town Magistrate.⁷² Summarily the fissures between Arab and African ran deep and though without the violence which would erupt in Zanzibar fueled by heightened recollections and emphasis placed on its slave past, the cleavage between the groups on the mainland shared the same root cause of stratification.

One challenge to these claims of superiority and to the status quo (though perhaps initially unintentional) was the rise of the Qadiriyya brotherhood which was led by Sheik Ramiya. Ramiya, a freed slave born in the Congo, was brought to Bagamoyo and served as a domestic slave in the home of Amir bin Sulayman al-Lamki. Though there is little explanation of how or when Ramiya, a Manyema was manumitted by his master, Nimtz (1980) describes in *Islam and Politics in East Africa* that Ramiya was favored by the slave holder and permitted to work beyond the home and receive religious training. Ramiya’s religious training made him a teacher and his eventual wealth made him “the largest African landowner (including Shomvi-Shirazi) as well as enhancing his position as a copra trader” (Nimtz 1980:120). The opportunity to participate in commercial enterprises further highlights the complicated notion of freedom as experienced by the enslaved along the coast. For while Ramiya began to acquire wealth while still enslaved, many freemen could not have fathomed such an outcome despite the fact that they were not bound to the household of a master. For some enslaved men, craftsmanship and

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² The petition further notes that when a case includes an Arab man and African woman, the cases are not settled in such courts since the former finds “it is a shameful act for an Arab to appear in person in the Court (Liwali’s) together with an African”.

demonstration of religious intellect offered greater access to resources, wealth and status despite their social category of slave. For some, this increase in financial stability meant that these men were more likely to purchase their freedom, attract wives and thus gain greater legitimacy in Swahili communities (Cooper 2005; Deutsch 2006). However, accumulation of wealth alone could not guarantee these freemen complete entrée into the worlds of their former owners who feared that total incorporation would challenge their own positions as patricians (Cooper 1981; Sunseri 1993; Deutsch 2006).

Given Ramiya's influence and religious education, he became sheik of Bagamoyo town in 1911 and remained so for the next twenty years. In addition, five years after becoming sheik of the town he was appointed as liwali of Bagamoyo by the British (Nimtz 1980). The prominence and increased popularity of the brotherhood in Bagamoyo speaks to not only what Sheik Ramiya's followers have described as *baraka* or the charisma of the sheik but also highlights the cleavages which existed between Afro-Arabs and all others particularly in aspects concerning religious life as African Muslims found their roles in religious sects and worship limited.⁷³ In fact, it was arguably these very limits which were placed upon the newly converted slaves, freemen and others of mainland origin that enabled Sheik Ramiya, to garner a wealth of support among the most disenfranchised.⁷⁴ For in the years following his appointment, Sheik Ramiya's Qadiriyya brotherhood, rallied a membership of not only those who bore the mark of

⁷³ Many Islamic sects including the Ibadi sect of which Sheik Ramiya's previous owner was a part were not inclusive of non-Arabs or Swahili. Oman remains the stronghold of the Ibadi sect.

⁷⁴ Ramiya is said to have possessed supernatural powers. One story shared by a research participant detailed how during the bombing of the German boma, Ramiya escaped unscathed. For more about the life and contributions of Sheik Ramiya, see August H. Nimtz, Jr., *Islam and Politics in East Africa* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1980).

enslavement but in addition, those who either could not or chose not to lay genealogical claim to a lineage rooted in the “civilized” Arab world which lied across the Indian Ocean.

The Qadiriyya, an order within Sunni Islam was founded in the twelfth century and named after its leader Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (Robinson 2004). Its spread and appeal can also be linked to the fact that the order was more amenable to local customs and as Nimtz (1980) described was “regarded as more egalitarian than clerical Islam because status in the tariqa was based on piety rather than on learning” (p.56). In addition, the egalitarian natures of Sufi orders such as the Qadiriyya were largely responsible for the propagation of what is considered as popular Islam in Africa (Nimtz 1980; Robinson 2004). The Qadiriyya is the largest of the Sufi orders in East Africa with an estimated 70% of those who adhere to the teachings of the tariqa’s belonging to one of the three largest branches of the order and it is from one of these branches that Sheik Ramiya rose to prominence (Nimtz 1980). Additionally, it was not only Sheik Ramiya, a former slave who represented the less restricted (in terms of genealogy and race) nature of the brotherhoods, in fact the Qadiriyya as well as other Sufi brotherhoods were headed by a majority African leadership. Again, this is significant as Islam in East Africa prior to the spread of these orders had been in the control of Arab religious leaders specifically hailing from the Hadhramaut-present day Yemen (Nimtz 1980). Furthermore, while the arrival of the Qadiriyya brotherhood in Bagamoyo and surrounding areas quite obviously did not create the social divisions exacerbated by the history of slavery in Bagamoyo, the racial/ethnic and class based composition of the membership of the organization signaled the depths of discord and stratification present in the town prior to the campaign for independence.

Firmly cemented as an integral part of Bagamoyo society and revered by Muslims throughout the Swahili coast, Sheik Ramiya’s death in 1931 did not signal the end of his

influence or the brotherhood, as his legacy continued when his role as sheik was passed on to his son Sheik Muhammad bin Ramiya. As the son of a man as respected and influential in Bagamoyo and beyond, Sheik Muhammad was charged with continuing the work of his father.

During interviews in Bagamoyo, one elder shared that before becoming sheik

Muhammad was *mhuni* before [the death of his father] and he didn't study the Koran very well but after the death of his father then he changed and elders advised him to take the place of his father. So they started educating him and fortunately God blessed him and he did very well in Koran learning...And then he came to be a man of miracles and when he predicted something it truly could happen. Until now even his children they have some supernatural powers.⁷⁵
(personal communication, Yusuf Shamir)

The prominence of both Sheik Muhammad and his family continued to grow even after the passing of Sheik Ramiya. However events involving Islamic doctrine and religious performances such as the *dhikr* further demarcated the lines between Afro-Arabs and mainlanders as evidenced by quarrels between the two leading tariqas in Bagamoyo.⁷⁶

Sheik Muhammad's relationship with Afro-Arab leaders in Bagamoyo was tense as the controversy of 1938 illustrates. The controversy arose over a sermon given by Sheik Muhammad in which he stated that the Prophet Muhammad was not an Arab. Such a statement was seen by some in Bagamoyo as heretical and as such eventually required that clerics in Zanzibar rule on the matter (Nimtz 1980).⁷⁷ According to Sheik Muhammad, such a proclamation was made in order to make the point that though the Prophet had been born "in the stomachs of Arabs" he was a man of the people (Nimtz 1980: 139). I would suggest that Sheik Muhammad's proclamation

⁷⁵ *Mhuni*, carefree

⁷⁶ Aside from the Qadiriyya was the Ahmadiyya brotherhood of which the membership was comprised of those claiming Arab lineage. In Bagamoyo, the Ahmadiyya brotherhood, comprised of Arabs and Shirazi came to be known as the "the brotherhood of the masters" (Ilfie 1979: 369) *Dhikr*, a form of praise worship in which various words and phrases celebrating the name of God are repeated.

⁷⁷ TNA, Acc. 55/I

also challenged the presupposition of the Afro-Arab elites of Bagamoyo that rights to mosque leadership and other pertinent religious and political positions in town were inalienable and best suited for those of Arab descent.

The 1938 controversy again illuminates the great emphasis placed on lineage and birthright in Bagamoyo. Despite the accomplishments of his father, Sheik Muhammad's origins as the son of a former slave and his experiences with Afro-Arabs in town positioned him to comment on the attitudes of Arabs towards African Muslims and vice versa. I argue that Muhammad's awareness of such further motivated his desire to support the growing independence movement. Nimitz (1980) provides support for this assertion writing of another case in which Arabs challenged or questioned the possible religious appointment of Sheik Muhammad. He notes Muhammad's response,

I think it was because of the dislike of the white people in the past-Europeans, Indians-in the past they strongly hated Africans. The Arabs strongly disliked Africans and they used them only as servants. Thus, [according to them] the servant is not supposed to exercise authority over the master (P.145).

From this response it becomes evident that the process of emancipation does not automatically lend itself to the re-envisioning of the former slaves or their descendants as equals who are worthy of the same access to leadership and resources of those who have maintained the ruling class. If Sheik Muhammad, a man of means and religious authority could feel this way it is fair to assume too that he was not alone and undoubtedly others aside from members of the brotherhood viewed the actions of Arabs similarly.

One such group was the African Association which was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1929.⁷⁸ Armed with a pan-African vision evident by their mission “to safeguard the interests of Africans, not only in Tanganyika, but in the whole of Africa”, the African Association poised itself as stated in its constitution to extend membership to “anyone who is an African...regardless of tribe, religion, or territorial rights” (Iliffe 1979: 406). Illustrative of its desire to represent the egalitarian ideal, its leadership in the early days included Mzee Sudi whose parents had both been slaves and Adrian Benjamin Boyd, a freed slave who became secretary of the African Association branch in Zanzibar (Hajivayanis, Mtowa and Iliffe 1973; Iliffe 1979).

The formation of the African Association similarly echoes organizing efforts in post-emancipation societies across the Atlantic. For just as the African Association had grown out of the need for increased representation and recognition of the importance of developing an umbrella organization which could support coalition building, so too had other groups in the diaspora.⁷⁹ For instance, Rebecca Scott’s (2005) comparative work on Cuba and Louisiana demonstrates that though slave experiences on sugar plantations in both locales were similar, alliances which developed following emancipation differed for both populations. For instance, in Cuba trans-racial alliances forged between black and white Cubans against imperial agitators led to an increase in participation in public life following emancipation including access to land, property ownership and universal male suffrage regardless of color or class. While such alliances

⁷⁸ Iliffe (1979) writes that no records detail the founding date or year of the organization. However he draws this conclusion based on an episode concerning unionization between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika which seems to have prompted the creation of the organization.

⁷⁹ Iliffe (1979) notes that a later version of the African Association constitution made the proclamation that “Every association that is here in Africa, that is of the people of Africa, its father is the African Association” (p. 406).

in Cuba led to those freed from slavery and their progeny being incorporated more fully into Cuban society, soon to be emancipated slaves in Louisiana often joined the Union army fighting for the objective of freedom, however, unlike those in Cuba, the entrée of former slaves into the public sphere in Louisiana following emancipation was limited at best (Scott 2005).

Similarly, in her work on class formation among African-Americans in New York immediately following emancipation, Leslie Harris (2003) details how growing class schisms between the free black population and middle class concerns over moral redemption influenced the trans-racial alliances among poor blacks and whites living together in impoverished areas such as Five Points. However, as Harris' work reveals; impoverished interracial areas in post-emancipation communities in the North became stigmatized as centers of criminal activity, deviant behavior and interracial sexual activity. Thus, poverty became equated with black inferiority and unregulated amalgamation which eventually caused rifts in what potentially might have been a moment of interracialism between black and white citizens during the era of Reconstruction. The formation of alliances across racial lines has also been examined in a different context by sociologist Moon-Kie Jung (2006) who details the significance of such alliances in his examination of Filipino, Japanese and Portuguese workers in Hawaii. In his work, the author demonstrates how interracialism, which he defines as "the ideology and practice of forming a political community across extant racial boundaries", allowed workers to unite as part of the working class despite racial difference (3).

United under a banner of unity across ethnic and religious lines, the African Association sought to extend its appeal throughout the territory and increase its presence before the colonial government. However, wary of increased involvement of civil servants in political affairs, the British chided members from participating in organizing efforts as the evolving objective of the

organization, achieving national independence became clear. In addition, rifts began to occur between branches, most notably one which occurred between the branches in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, leading to the creation of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), which would come to be the immediate predecessor to Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (Iliffe 1970:433). In spite of the challenges of its early days, the AA provided the framework for a unitary nationalist movement” (Iliffe 1979: 405). Iliffe (1979) well documents how the initial goals of the African Association took root and blossomed in the provincial branches of the organization which would come to provide the foundation for the development of the nationalist oriented TANU.

Among these branches were those established in Bagamoyo and Zanzibar. Whereas, branches in urban areas such as Dodoma were made of up a variety of ethnic groups and educated men working as civil servants, the membership of the Bagamoyo branch mirrored the highly racially stratified nature of the town. Of such Iliffe (1979) writes that the African Association in Bagamoyo “was an organization of black men against immigrants of other races. The black men were Manyema freedmen or déclassé Shomvi aristocrats...” (p.415). Among the seven founders of the branch were not those employed in the civil service but men who worked as drivers, farmers, fishermen and an owner of a small hotel whose interests were geared more toward local concerns (Iliffe 1979). Not even a decade after its establishment Sheik Muhammad became the branch president in 1946 leading to an increased membership of town residents who also belonged to the Qadiriyya.

In terms of the Qadiriyya, its intent had not been to heighten division between Arabs and Africans rather its role became a more encompassing one, very much similar to the role undertaken by the black church following Reconstruction in the United States. In the case of

African-Americans, the church became not only a place of religious worship, but a space of political mobilization, a community resource facility and a symbolic center of black culture (Dubois 1903; Frazier 1964; Battle 2006). The historical legacy of the enslavement of people of African ancestry in the United States played a significant role in the construction of the black church. As an institution, the black church catered not only to the spiritual needs of African Americans but also provided an arena for African Americans to voice their everyday concerns and frustrations on issues impacting the black community (Battle 2006). In fact, post emancipation, the church became the structure through which both religious activity and social authority were exercised, (Dubois 1903; Frazier 1964). Likewise, the Qadiriyya became a vehicle by which once marginalized populations professed not only their faith but also proclaimed their right to be treated equally and form identities which more fully linked them to the Islamic community.⁸⁰

Present in both the 1938 controversy and the development of the African Association was the use of anti-slavery sentiments in both and an appeal to the egalitarian tenets of Islam in the former. Derek Peterson describes how the invocation of phrases such as *utawala wa kitumwa*, meaning slave regime, were used to draw comparisons to the reduced liberties experienced under government appointed chiefs during the colonial period (2010:2). Similarly, as the independence movement gained way, TANU promoted the ideal of *uhuru*, meaning freedom repeatedly as leaders traveled throughout the territory mobilizing the masses. The refrain of “*uhuru sasa*” was

⁸⁰ The birthday of the prophet, Maulidi is a large celebration in Bagamoyo which draws celebrants from throughout the region. This has been the case since the time of Sheik Ramiya. I was able to witness the celebration during my time in Bagamoyo where the area adjoining the mosque drew enormous crowds of worshippers celebrating.

to become a constant of the independence movement with *uhuru* being “conceived both as political sovereignty and as liberation from slavery” (Peterson 2010:2).⁸¹

References to and recollections of maltreatment before the arrival of the British were strategic in that such references harkened back to abolitionist discourse of which the British colonial administration would readily recognize. Following the end of the Atlantic slave trade, European nations set their sights on the East African slave trade and other slave trading networks traveling across to the Mediterranean expressing their disapproval for the continued trade, identifying it with “Arabs and Islam, and used it as a justification for their humanitarian occupation of Africa” (Robinson 2004:71). In addition, the British worked to emphasize the differences between their administration and the previous German colonial regime. With the arrival of the British, Germans had been characterized as being all too ready to maintain the institution of slavery by benefitting from free labor and conscripting men during the First World War to provide labor for the colony. It is in records concerning conscription during the Second World War as well, that evidence of the power of memories of the slave trade also arises. Describing the annual occurrences within Bagamoyo district in 1941, a colonial officer noted,

The outstanding event of the year was the introduction of conscription to tribesmen who still retain very vivid recollections of the methods employed in collecting slaves and of the more recent 1914-18 war when all and sundry were impressed as porters. Some difficulty was experienced at first when most of the male population took to the bush but by means of barazas and general contact with the natives these gradually returned to their normal lives.”⁸²

Therefore, these “vivid recollections” influenced those living on the coast to respond to a presumed threat of capture by fleeing the town center and not returning until the administration

⁸¹ *Uhuru sasa*, means freedom now.

⁸² TNA, Bagamoyo District Annual Report, 1941.

was able to convey through meetings in the public square to those who remained the intent of conscription.⁸³

Other groups also turned to memories of the slave era to convey their concerns to the administration. Among these were the ethnically based organizations which sought to gain proper representation in civic matters. For instance, the Wazaramo Union was organized in efforts to “unite all Wazaramo together in order that we may help one another in matters which are beneficial to all, in other words to uplift the being of the tribe i.e. socially, educationally and economical”.⁸⁴ The establishment of ethnically based groups also worked to diffuse conflicts which arose between members of the same group. For instance, the Bagamoyo branch of the Wazaramo Union drafted a letter to the district commissioner in which the union took to task the leadership of a government appointed *diwani* who had ordered 50 villagers to work without pay to plait coconut leaves.⁸⁵ Followed by this accusation of forced labor was the question, “is there any law saying that any citizen has the right to make other people work, without paying them....”⁸⁶ Herein, the union raised a question of the illegality of forced labor. Additionally, the letter also demonstrates full awareness of the international appeal of emancipation. The letter

⁸³ In Tanganyika, African men were conscripted by British forces to provide agricultural labor and for military purposes. Conscripted men were used to work on sisal plantations. Sisal is a fiber used to make rope and twine. For more on the conscription of African forces and the British empire during the second war, please see (Jackson 2006).

⁸⁴ The Zaramo are among the indigenous ethnic groups found along the Swahili coast. The largest number of Zaramo occupied the coastal strip between Dar es Salaam to Bagamoyo; TNA, Acc. WUB/32/9.

⁸⁵ A *diwani* was considered the appointed head of a community, similar to a mayor. In this case the lead representative for the Zaramo in Bagamoyo.

⁸⁶ TNA, Acc. WUD/34/12.

continued, “Today all countries agree that every person has a right to be free except people of Bagamoyo. Uzaramo have no rights only to be ill-treated by their Wakili...”⁸⁷

Following these complaints against the wakili which were presented at a *baraza* ⁸⁸ at which the provincial commissioner attended, an elder finally revealed that their true complaint against the appointed wakili was that they did not want him “because he was not a full blooded Mzaramo”.⁸⁹ Whether or not this was truly the cause for the mistrust and call for the ousting of the wakili, is unclear for perhaps the members of the union preferred the option to select their own leader. What is of significance to this discussion is the ways in which the union expressed their concerns utilizing the case of unpaid labor. Derek Peterson (2010) argues that the use of abolitionist rhetoric was an invaluable strategy in that

African activists drew on a wide range of historical precedents in order to validate their contemporary political projects. But for people confronting the starkly unequal power relationships that British colonialism cultivated, for prisoners, ethnic minorities, forced laborers, and nationalist politicians, being a slave was good politics. Abolitionist rhetoric was, among other things, a means of making political inequalities look just (p. 2).

Thus, by framing their concerns within an anti-slavery framework, the aforementioned groups further demonstrated with an unyielding vehemence their opposition to behaviors which might in any way mirror previous relationships between master and slave.

Conclusion

In sum, for the Qadiriyya, conversations emerging after the 1938 controversy were most probably not the first which engaged the differential treatment by fellow Muslims whom were

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Baraza, a large courtyard where the community gathers.

⁸⁹ The diwani's mother was Zaramo and his father was Kwere.

Arab. As Nimtz (1980) asserts, in the Islamic world, following the conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims, the other major source of contention were those conflicts which arose between Arab Muslims and non-Arab Muslims. Here, the use of anti-slavery rhetoric was presented in the use of religious doctrine which highlighted the egalitarian ideals of Islam. Moreover, the Qadiriyya and other Sunni orders which held similar memberships challenged preconceived notions of African capabilities of religious intellect by actively developing religious leaders and providing religious instruction to a growing membership. The African Association as predecessor of TANU provided an organizational model which not only included a diverse membership from varying strata of society but also placed at its center discourses where freedom and equality were central. Finally, ethnic associations such as the Zaramo Union also recognized the importance of framing their experiences, grievances and desires in a way in which the British colonial state in many instances was forced to recognize.

In sum, the shift in how residents of Bagamoyo came to define themselves and/or differentiate themselves from others is important because who we are is reflected not only in the names we give to ourselves, the names we are called and answer to, but as importantly our identities become substantiated by the affiliations we make and the company we keep.

Chapter Four

Preserving the Legacy of the Struggle: Nationalism and the Challenges of Memory

*All human beings are equal. This is what the government says.
In marriage, you can marry who you love...former slave or not.
-Ally Mtengwa⁹⁰*

*But today there is independence.
Independence has come and there are no longer slaves.
-Hadijah Mohammed Bori⁹¹*

In 1960, prior to taking the premiership in Tanganyika, Julius Nyerere addressed British Governor Richard Gordon Turnbull at a meeting of the Legislative Council in which he emphatically proclaimed, "In Tanganyika we believe that only evil, Godless men would make the color of a man's skin the criteria for granting him civil rights" (Nyerere 1966:20). This statement was neither the first nor the last of Nyerere's ardent proclamations which challenged the racialized ideologies which had long supported the colonial mission sanctioned during the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. Nyerere's address before the British governor and subsequent public addresses throughout his political career consistently spoke to the value of all humanity regardless of religious affiliation, race, ethnicity or social class. Recognizing the long standing divisions exacerbated by the slave trade and colonialism between the disenfranchised native population and other immigrant populations, Nyerere sought to forge a path toward national independence which included all citizens who sought the immediate departure of the British from Tanganyikan affairs.

⁹⁰ Personal communication, January 9, 2009

⁹¹ Personal communication, February 2, 2009

The organizing efforts of the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) of which Nyerere had become president in 1954 were instrumental in mobilizing Tanganyikans.⁹² The development of organizational branches and “deliberate campaigning” throughout the country swiftly cemented TANU’s position as the organization of the people (Illife 1979:520). With freedom as its objective, promoting the ideals of equality and unity became paramount in forwarding the nationalist agenda for TANU. In a country that is represented by nearly 120 ethnic groups and in which the religious faiths of Christianity, Islam and traditionalist religions are practiced, the banner of solidarity might have proven more difficult among native populations had TANU’s early membership and leaders not represented a cross section of the population.⁹³ This inclusiveness and Nyerere’s ability to effectively convey the urgency of the moment motivated the vast majority of native Tanganyikans to rally around the TANU leader during the fight for liberation.⁹⁴

Mobilizing across the potentially divisive lines of religion, race, class and ethnicity was part and parcel to TANU’s campaign for achieving independence in Tanganyika. While some areas were more readily amenable to the principles of equality and solidarity, it was undoubtedly more difficult for post-emancipation towns, such as Bagamoyo in which the progeny of both slave holders and the enslaved had continued to reside across generations. Thus, the central

⁹² Preceded by the African Association founded in 1929 and later incarnations which included the Tanzanian African Association, TANU’s prominence quickly spread through the development of organizational branches throughout the country. For more information on the rise of TANU, please see Illife, pgs. 507-577.

⁹³ TANU’s earliest members were hold overs from trade unions and other bodies which had organized for a myriad of reasons. These leaders included Manyema, Zanzibari and members of both Christian and Muslim faiths. This diversity allowed people along both the coast and interior to envision themselves as part of the organization.

⁹⁴ I do not intend to give the impression that all groups immediately agreed with TANU’s agenda. Some in fact, particularly elders who recalled Maji Maji and other anti-colonial acts of resistance in the region were hesitant about joining with TANU.

tenets of the nationalist movement most assuredly caused residents from varying ethnic and religious backgrounds to confront the town's intimate relationship with its slave past.

Though the realization of national independence was not the accomplishment of Nyerere alone, *Mwalimu*, as he was called, became the face and voice of independent Tanzania.⁹⁵ His ability to successfully manage the peaceful transition to self-rule in 1961 and the unification of the mainland with Zanzibar in 1964, following the islands' violent revolution, continues to be regarded as one of the greatest accomplishments of an African statesman at the dawn of independence. The union also spoke volumes to those who may have questioned whether Nyerere's commitment to religious freedoms would continue following independence. Some worried that Nyerere's religious affiliation of devout Catholicism would lead him to promote policies which might disenfranchise the country's Muslim population in favor of the Catholic Church and other Christians. However, his ability to broker the union between the religiously diverse Tanganyikan mainland and the majority Islamic Zanzibar further demonstrated to the masses that Nyerere's egalitarian ideals would be as much a part of the newly sovereign Tanzania's future as they had been during the independence campaign. Describing the union, Nyerere wrote,

Tanzania is a very rare pearl in the history of free Africa. All the other countries were inherited from Colonialism; Tanzania is our own creation. After extricating its two parts from Colonialism we constructed it ourselves, voluntarily, and without being forced into doing so by anyone (1995:70).

The presentation of the nation as unique and distinctly formed despite its colonial experience under both German and British rule further solidified the vision of a cooperative and inclusive Tanzania in the hearts and minds of the people. As such, Nyerere came to personify the ideals of

⁹⁵ *Mwalimu*, means teacher.

unity and equality which had been integral to forging the new nation-state. His vision for the newly independent Tanzania melded with the growing national consciousness of its citizens who rallied for “One Tanzania”.

This chapter examines how nationalist ideals of solidarity and parity both during and following the anti-colonial campaign has influenced how Bagamoyo residents discuss social relations, particularly those concerning ethnicity, slave ancestry and religion. I argue that national allegiance to the memory of Julius Nyerere shapes the way vicarious memories of slavery are revealed. The following demonstrates how both public and private discourse



Figure 3. Julius Nyerere celebrating on the country's first day of independence, December 9, 1961. Retrieved from www.unitedafricanorganization.blogspot.com/2011/12/50th-anniversary-of-tanzanias.html, 2010.

surrounding the legacy of slavery in Bagamoyo is mitigated by the need to protect not only Nyerere's vision for the country but also a post-emancipation community's need to cast a more favorable light on a town which is forever marked by its place in the history of the East African slave trade.

The first section highlights accounts concerning the relationship between Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad of Bagamoyo, in that the relationship between the two offers additional insight into the significance of religious difference in Bagamoyo. This section also considers Nyerere's personal commitment to social justice and humanist perspective as evidenced through his writings and speeches. Finally, the concluding portion of the chapter reveals how the legacy of Julius Nyerere informs the process of remembering by introducing uncomfortable silences and unexpected challenges as participants seek balance between preserving a nation's legacy and presenting their personal truths.

One Nation under God: Faith and Unity in Bagamoyo

In Bagamoyo, the legacy of the independence struggle is intimately tied to not only the leadership of Julius Nyerere but also to the organizing efforts of the esteemed Sheik Muhammad bin Ramiya. Therefore, while the unification of Tanganyika with Zanzibar remained a significant achievement which showcased Nyerere's allegiance to the development of a religiously diverse nation, my research shows that the relationship between the president and the imam presented the people of Bagamoyo with a more tangible representation of Nyerere's commitment to improving relations between adherents of varying religious faiths and ancestral lineage. The friendship between Nyerere, the Catholic son of a Zanaki chief and Sheik Muhammad, the local Muslim religious authority and son of a manumitted slave, was a keen demonstration of

solidarity across these lines in the town.⁹⁶ This was particularly symbolic in Bagamoyo where relations between Muslims and Catholics were complicated by a historical narrative which charged Islam as the primary architect of the East African slave trade and Catholicism as redeemer.

It is nearly impossible to discuss the leadership of Julius Nyerere and the presence of TANU in Bagamoyo without hearing accounts of his meetings with Sheik Muhammad both during and following the campaign for independence. As discussed in the previous chapter, Sheik Muhammad as the leader of the Qadiriyya brotherhood, the largest organization in Bagamoyo, religious or otherwise was instrumental in garnering support for TANU along the coast (Illife 1979; Nimtz 1980). As sheik, Muhammad's influence on Muslim community members both throughout Bagamoyo and along the coast was far-reaching. Previous involvement in the TAA and as Nimtz (1980) writes, "the second person in the district to buy a TANU membership card", Muhammad demonstrated his interest in the evolving realm of nationalist party politics (p. 158).⁹⁷

Historian, John Illife writes that "class scarcely threatened TANU's nationalist coalition. Religion was a greater danger" (1979:555).⁹⁸ The solicitation of Sheik Muhammad's increased involvement in rallying up supporters by leading numerous tours along the coast supports such an assertion. TANU leadership valued the influence of the imam and his ability to articulate the vision of the party to those Muslim communities who had not yet become vested in the

⁹⁶ The Zanaki are a relatively small ethnic group from Northern Tanzania.

⁹⁷ The Tanganyika African Association (TAA), organized in 1948 was a revised incarnation of the African Association.

⁹⁸ I am inclined to believe that in the early organizing of the majority African members this was this case, however post-independence events would reveal otherwise.

campaign. The head of the TANU youth league, Mzee Mshindo b. Sudi, described the challenges that TANU faced in increasing membership in coastal communities and other towns in Bagamoyo District. He stated “there were difficulties in some areas, and also religious considerations. The District Committee preferred that Shayk Muhammad should take care of those areas where there were difficulties or problems and religious issues” (Nimtz 1980:161). It can be assumed that the problems of which Mshindo bin Sudi spoke included issues concerning Christian access to education and civil servant positions, concerns which had been expressed throughout the colonial period (Illife 1979; Mbogoni 2004).

While the African Association, the predecessor of TANU, had since its inception in 1929 always maintained a strong if not majority Muslim presence, some active Muslim leaders within TANU worried that “Christian leadership would pose a threat to Islam after independence as the colonial administration had done” (Mbogoni 1994:116). Fears of further marginality by non-Muslims became more evident during the 1958 parliamentary elections, when campaign regulations were set forth, among which was the requirement that candidates have the equivalent of a seventh grade education. This requirement in particular restricted the candidacy of many Muslim TANU party members in that during the colonial period, Muslim access to education was limited (Twaddle 1995; Mbogoni 2004). Interviewees also shared that many Muslims had privileged religious education in Quranic schools over secular education during the period. In fact many of the elders both Muslim and Christian described that in Bagamoyo attending the mission school marked one as a descendant of slaves primarily because the Catholic freedom village on mission grounds had offered refuge and education to ransomed, escaped and freed slaves during the close of the nineteenth century.

The apprehension expressed by African Muslims concerning access to education and representation in national government was addressed by Nyerere during his Independence Day radio broadcast in 1968. In this speech, Nyerere spoke to criticisms which suggested that it was by design that Christians and three ethnic groups, in particular made up the vast majority of those in the employ of the new government as civil servants and political officials.⁹⁹ He responded,

It so happened that the Tanzanians who had the opportunity for higher education under the colonialists were mostly Wahaya, Wachagga, and Wanyakyusa. And because most of the education was provided by missionaries, most of these people are also Christians. That was our inheritance. These conditions will change, but they have not changed yet...Anyone who refuses to accept a very obvious truth like this and says the reason is tribalism must provide us with the evidence for his statement. If he cannot provide any evidence, we must conclude either that he is a fool, or that he is stirring up tribalism deliberately. (Nyerere 1973:76).

This proclamation delivered two messages, both of which I argue were meant for both those who had been critical of the number of Christians represented in public offices and positions and those who might later use arguments of discrimination as an explanation of exclusion in other public spheres in which the new national government played a central role. First, at the heart of the nationalist agenda, had been and continued to be the emphasis placed on the development of a national consciousness which endeared itself to the idea that every Tanzanian was equal to his/her neighbor regardless of socio-economic status, religious affiliation or ethnic heritage. In fact, Nyerere and TANU had very much benefitted from the early days of the African Association, in terms of this line of humanist thinking. An early draft of the constitution of the African Association, drafted in Dodoma in 1945 read,

It shall be the duty of each and every African to do away with all tribal, religious, sectarian, economical, political, cultural, educational, territorial and other differences, and to work whole heartedly to foster and promote a sense of solid

⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that despite the fact that no one ethnic group represents an overwhelming numerical majority, the Wahaya, Wachagga and Wanyakyusa are among the largest ethnic groups in the country.

brotherhood of all Africans. Africans are first Africans. It is only after that they are or may be any other things... (Illife 1979:424).

Hence, the rumblings of a nationalist vision and pan-African ideal which emphasized parity and equality as the key to solidarity had been stewing years earlier providing a foundation on which Nyerere's TANU could build.¹⁰⁰

“He Came Here”: Nyerere in Bagamoyo

“No, this is the kind of fasting I want: Free those who are wrongly imprisoned; lighten the burden of those who work for you. Let the oppressed go free, and remove the chains that bind people.” Isaiah 58:6 (NLT)

“O ye who believe! Fasting is prescribed to you as it was prescribed to those before you, that ye may (learn) self-restraint” Al-Baqara 2:183

The virtues of humility, service for the betterment of the collective and equality were extolled by Nyerere throughout his tenure as president of the country. Whether speaking on the injustice of apartheid in South Africa or rallying support for displaced persons fleeing civil war in neighboring Burundi, Nyerere's commitment to a vision of a society which valued humanity for its own sake was clear. The emphasis placed on the equal standing of those from descent lines marked by nobility and wealth with those who shared slave ancestry was astute. In fact, I posit that the relationship between Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad provides an early template for understanding the importance of social status and ancestry, particularly in a coastal community such as Bagamoyo which became home to a varied population often marked as much by their

¹⁰⁰ This is not to suggest that the formation of the African Association was the first attempt of unifying against colonial aggression or increased participation in the colonial government. The Abushiri War of 1888 included armed slaves, those working on caravans and others fighting against German movement into the interior. The Maji Maji war of 1905-1907 in Southern Tanganyika, though unsuccessful brought together numerous ethnic groups fighting against the Germans including the Zaramo, Matumbi and Makonde.

ethnic group as by their place of birth and their claims to ancestral ties in the Indian Ocean world.

As son of the revered Sheik Ramiya, Sheik Muhammad grew into his leadership role as the imam of the Qadiriyya brotherhood following the death of his father in 1931. In my interview with Mzee Jembe, a relative of Sheik Muhammad, he described Sheik Ramiya's son as being "youthful and not really interested in the responsibilities of the religious life" (personal communication, March 2009). However, as time passed Muhammad obviously grew to understand the weight of protecting the legacy of his father. For if Muhammad had not been born to a father who had not only been manumitted but also come to develop skills as a religious leader, his status in Bagamoyo would have arguably been much different. For in the period preceding national independence the limitations facing those of slave ancestry were very much overt. For instance, for slave descendants achievement of elevated social status on par with those of Afro-Arab ancestry was difficult in that although some formerly enslaved and their descendants became artisans and could amass personal wealth, no amount of money could purchase claims to Arab ancestry (Glassman 1995).

The idea that the Christian son of a chief from the northern highlands and the son of a once enslaved Islamic imam from Congo conjures at the very least an ideal representation of parity and mutual respect. Incidentally, beyond this image were the stories that accompanied it. For instance, the story most often shared by interviewees concerning Nyerere's visits to Bagamoyo describes the occasions on which Nyerere visited the town during the holy month of Ramadan in which Muslims are expected to fast from dawn to sunset. Of one visit, Mzee Halfan Ali shared,

“I remember he came in 1974 to visit Sheik Ramiya [Muhammad]. He came to an opening ceremony for a football game. He was also fasting and got a headache as he wasn’t used to it. He asked for a tablet but Sheik Ramiya [Muhammad] didn’t allow him” (personal interview, January 24, 2009)

Similarly, Iddi Msiro, born in 1942, stated

“Before Independence he came here and asked people to contribute 50TSH each. Then he came later to visit Sheik Ramiya [Muhammad]. He fasted here to pray for peace in the country.” (personal interview, January 24, 2009)

The stories of Nyerere’s visits to Bagamoyo and his relationship with Sheik Muhammad were shared by more than half of those residents interviewed. The following demonstrates that such accounts are significant because 1) Nyerere’s observance of the ritual of fasting and the act of prayer was considered among those who practiced Islam as a sign of respect, a demonstration of religious inclusion and considered a testament to Nyerere’s own personal devotion to God and 2) Nyerere’s visits to Bagamoyo demonstrated the importance and relevance of the town beyond its history as a slave port.

In the earlier portion of this chapter, I highlighted the increased role of Sheik Muhammad in the nationalist movement and his importance in securing support among Muslims throughout Bagamoyo district. The tale of this one particular visit by Nyerere as shared by residents is simple; he came to Bagamoyo, he visited with Sheik Muhammad, he stayed in the home of his friend the imam, he respected the piety and religious authority of his friend, he fasted during the time of Ramadan although he was not Muslim and maintained the commitment to the fast despite experiencing discomfort caused by a headache. Iddi Msiro’s recollection describes a visit made to the town before Independence in which Nyerere came to pray for a peaceful transition to

sovereignty while Mzee Ali describes the visit occurring a decade following Tanzania's independence.¹⁰¹

Mzee Ali's account subtly highlights the equal standing between both Nyerere and Sheikh Muhammad in that even when Nyerere is said to have asked for an aspirin to cure his headache, his friend the imam discouraged him from doing so. The relationship between the two men modeled the execution of solidarity between Christians, (in this case Catholics) and Muslims. The performance of the religious act of fasting between two men of differing faiths may not initially seem to warrant such attention. However, as the preponderance of interview statements reveal, this short episode of Nyerere's fasting is significant to those who share it as it allows us to reflect upon the relationship or lack thereof prior between Catholics and Muslims in the town of Bagamoyo beginning with the arrival of the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1868.

While the Spiritans set up shop on the outskirts of town with the support of the Sultanate after having been in Zanzibar since 1860, their arrival did not mean that their presence was without stipulations.¹⁰² For the most part, the priests understood that proselytizing would not be tolerated and that their missionary work would be among those who were not adherents to Islam (Kollman 2005). Even beyond the Catholic missionaries' development of St. Joseph's freedom village which provided refuge and education to recently freed, ransomed and runaway persons, the missionaries also participated in the agricultural production of items such as coconuts and bananas for local trade which increased their involvement with townspeople. Nevertheless, the close proximity of the mission to predominantly Muslim Bagamoyo neighborhoods led to the

¹⁰¹ While research participants differed on the year in which this episode of fasting occurred, the emphasis all placed on this act was acute. The majority of the interviewees offered this story without my mentioning it to them.

¹⁰² The Holy Ghost Fathers or Spiritans were first settled on the island of Zanzibar where they worked to ransom slaves. Previously, the Spiritans worked among the freedmen and women in Mauritius, Reunion and Haiti.

missionaries attempts to create rules for residents of the mission. These rules included the imposition of a curfew and further restrictions which limited access to and time spent in the areas beyond the mission in efforts “to keep villagers from untoward mingling with their non-Christian neighbors” (Kollman 2005:152). In addition, the mission’s location on the outskirts of town also separated those in the mission from “possible pollution by Muslims” and “further ensured the proper formation of Christians through work, prayer and education” (Kollman 2005:161).

In fact, the notion that the Catholic and Muslims of Bagamoyo moved in nearly two completely separate worlds was not only an experience of the late nineteenth century. Conversations with elders about the mission suggest that for even the first half of the twentieth century the area nearest the mission was considered “Catholic space” and Muslims had very little contact with those who lived in New Town. Such concerns were obviously valid as it appears that as Sheik Ramiya’s following began to grow in the 1920’s some of those living in the predominantly Catholic village of New Town began to leave the mission. Elizabeth Manjadi, a long time school teacher, Catholic resident of New Town and self- identified descendant of slaves whom found refuge at the mission shared,

the missionaries, they thought firstly if they allowed them [Catholic converts] to mix with the natives they will get lost or convert to Islam...So you can see some of them went to Ramiya and converted and others for instance in my family some of my relatives are Muslims. For instance, my grandmother use to go to Ramiya’s place to say “Hello” because she was a sister in law of Ramiya. When the missionaries came to know that some people were converting to Islam they put up a blockade and prohibited people from moving other places. Nowadays there is cooperation between people from different origins of life but in the past there was a separation especially due to religion (personal communication, January 9, 2009).

Given that religion proved to create boundaries for social interaction between Muslims and Christians in town, these boundaries were not absolute. This is evidenced by Bibi Manjadi’s

description of how not even the concerted efforts of Catholic clergy to keep the two groups separate, fearing conversion of their parishioners, could prevent the development of families comprised of both Muslims and Christians. In fact, although Catholics and Muslims spent very little time mingling during the period prior to organizing for the independence campaign, there seems to have been a mutual understanding between the two groups which kept religious tensions at bay.

This may have been due to the overwhelming majority Muslim population in Bagamoyo and early restrictions placed on proselytizing to Muslim residents. In correspondence from 1940 District Commissioner F. W. Bampfylde wrote of relations in Bagamoyo, “both Catholic and Mohamedans lived in amity together, and that even religious questions which had arisen from time to time had always been settled without any ill feeling....”¹⁰³ The notion that both groups lived in “amity together”, does not imply that relations were collegial rather additional evidence suggests that this statement speaks more so to the absence of episodes of overt hostilities between the Catholic Church and the Muslim population. This does not mean however that relations were cooperative; rather I might propose that relations were civil at best.

Given these early relations between Catholics and Muslims in the town and the challenges which TANU faced in some majority Muslim communities, it becomes clearer as to why the spiritual exercise of fasting between Nyerere and Muhammad would be presented as significant in the imaginations of residents. Not only was the act of fasting regarded as pious but the bond between the two, made the men, leaders in their own right both appealing and accessible to the masses who were drawn to them. Writing of the appeal of George Washington, in the American imagination, Schwartz (1990) describes how a shift in focus from the

¹⁰³ TNA, Acc. 127/E/ 61.

aristocratic upbringing of the first president to an emphasis placed on his personal relationships was significant in that “affection reveals equality among men, diminishing the formal distance between them” (228). Thus, the friendship between Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad reflected their ability to express genuine camaraderie and concern for Tanganyika’s future. Their public relationship supported their call for increased political participation across religious lines. Camaraderie based upon a vested interest in securing national sovereignty was the core agenda of these two men. Amilcal Cabral, the Cape Verde/Guinea Bissau liberation leader described the significance of such relationships in the midst of struggle,

Naturally if you ask me between brothers and comrades what I prefer-if we are brothers it is not our fault or our responsibility. But if we are comrades, it is a political engagement. Naturally we like our brothers but in our conception it is better to be a brother *and* a comrade. We like our brothers very much, but we think that if we are brothers we have to realize the responsibility of this fact and take clear positions about our problems in order to see if beyond this condition of brothers we are also comrades (Cabral 1979:75-76).

In addition, the history of separation of the two groups also aids in understanding why Sheik Muhammad became instrumental in providing assurance to his followers and others that there was in fact a place for African Muslims in the independence campaign.¹⁰⁴ As such, a respondent from Nimitz’s (1980) study of the brotherhood in Bagamoyo affirmed that Sheik Muhammad, “made an effort to put aside different religious views by saying politics concerns

¹⁰⁴ TANU nor TAA had been majority Christian however concerns at the time were that Christians would come to control the leadership of the organization due in large part to their participation in larger numbers in the civil service and other areas of the colonial administration due to their increased access to colonial education.

the religious person of any denomination; because it is incumbent on everyone who is an inhabitant of the country to fight for independence” (p. 159).¹⁰⁵

Much like Nyerere, Sheik Muhammad recognized the importance of demonstrating that a successful independence campaign required the participation of Muslims and Christians regardless of ethnic group or ancestry. His earlier experiences with local Afro-Arabs concerning religious doctrine and treatment of African Muslims in the town seem to have informed his understanding of the complicated intersections of race, class and with the growing number of interfaith TANU chapters, the intersection of religion.

Though religion proved to be a potential obstacle to unification efforts which both Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad worked intently to overcome, the religious faiths of both men remained central to their worldviews. For Julius Nyerere, the teachings of the Catholic Church complemented and further informed his understanding of humanity and his commitment to the betterment of society. In 1966 he wrote of government responsibilities,

Its main objective is to supply the adequate measures for the people of Africa on the whole, because we were separated from one another and were not on equal basis, everyone thought of himself better than the other...Now the sons and daughters of Africa are able to say to their mother that whatever thou listest that the sons and daughters may be for Thee, here we are and ask for forgiveness and say, ‘We have sinned against thee and against heaven...’ (Nyerere 1966:74)

While Nyerere, a devout Catholic who attended morning mass on a daily basis, most often refrained from expressing his personal religious beliefs, statements such as this reveal that his belief system was closely tied to his political vision for the nation. What remains important, however is that Nyerere and TANU as a whole made concerted efforts to construct the promise

¹⁰⁵ I would be remiss not to mention the work of Bibi Titi Muhammad, a Muslim townswoman who served as the leader of the women’s section of TANU and often travelled with Nyerere and garnered the support for the party throughout the country. For more on the contributions of Bibi Titi Muhammad and other TANU women, please see *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955-1965*, Susan Geiger, 1997.

of equality as a human need rooted not so much in any one religious ideal, rather the importance of equality was presented in a way in which varying faiths and social groups could relate.

Speaking of the challenges of religious difference in the early days of TANU, he wrote,

The country is divided in religion and it would have been easy for TANU to have fallen into the trap of religious hostility. That in particular to the adherents of the Moslem faith in the coastal belt – where TANU started. Only after that is it due to the deliberate and inflexible rule of the party that a man's religious beliefs were never to be commented upon or used in political argument (Nyerere 1966:214).

The ever evolving party platform of TANU in fact required the respect and tolerance of varying religious faiths. As such, the nation's constitution includes articles protecting religious freedoms.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, concerns over the difference between educational attainment levels between Christians and Muslims was also addressed by the government immediately following Independence on the mainland with legislation which required that mission schools be opened for all faiths. This act was taken further in 1969 when all schools in the nation were taken over by the state to ensure parity as well as to support the move to nationalization (Neve 1976).

Among both Muslims and Christians, this move towards nationalization, introduced the lone critique of Nyerere shared by those I interviewed. Nyerere's decision to relocate thousands of Tanzanians to new locales during the villagization project which attempted to centralize resources and production was one which was not well received by many Tanzanians.¹⁰⁷ The concept of *ujamaa*, meaning familyhood focused on the villagization of production which was meant to encourage self-reliance and aid in the development of agricultural advances and

¹⁰⁶ These articles have been ratified and redrafted in 1984, 1992, 1995 and 1997.

¹⁰⁷ Among those interviewed only those who had personally experienced or knew of others who had been forced to relocate during the villagization project mentioned *ujamma*. When asked about her memories and thoughts on the former president, Bibi Melania Richards replied, "The one bad thing he did was to make people leave their homes..." (personal communication, December 28, 2008).

technologies which would lead to increased productivity (Komba 1995). Yet, due to a number of problems, including the oil crisis of the 1970s which led to a decrease in the prices of the leading exports of coffee and sisal, conflict with neighboring Uganda and the absence of foreign investments, Nyerere's vision of Tanzanian socialism did not come to fruition as he had hoped. In addition, the overarching plan for development in independent Tanzania, the Arusha Declaration provided free education and encouraged the use of Swahili as the national language. Considered a socialist venture, in that the scheme required communal participation also reinforces the personal vision of an egalitarian society post-independence in order to thwart further divisions along class lines. A speech given in 1974 concerning land tenure in the country exemplifies this vision. He remarked

All human beings, be they children brought up in poor or rich families, or belonging to sinners or saints, or even those whose parents are either slaves or free men, were born to find land in existence. They can neither add to it or reduce its extent. It is God's gift, given to all His creation without any discrimination ... (Nyerere 1974:53).¹⁰⁸

It is through his speeches and interviews concerning the appropriateness of the ujamaa project as proposed in the Arusha Declaration that Nyerere's references to the pre-colonial past come to the fore.

In the development of the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere's longing for a return to an arguably idealized and romanticized pre-colonial past is evidenced by the goals of the ujamaa project. This reconstruction of an African past where morality reigned and greater emphasis was placed on the communal rather than the individual was presented to the nation as the path which

¹⁰⁸ This statement is reflective of the influence of political economist and American writer, Henry George on Nyerere's thinking. Central to George's ideology was the belief that things of nature such as land and water belong to all human beings equally.

would lead to order and success following independence.¹⁰⁹ Cranford Pratt writes that “Nyerere’s commitment to socialism had at its core a concern with the moral quality of life” (1979:111). This concern with the moral quality of life is central to the political philosophy of Nyerere. His decision to develop independent Tanzania during the first fifteen years under a socialist model constantly afforded the opportunity to place an emphasis on decisions considered most beneficial for the masses rather than for the individual. He best surmised this line of thinking, asserting “If the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality, then the latter will be given priority” (Nyerere 1974:92).

The primacy given to the ideals of dignity and equality in the construction of the newly independent state of Tanzania has been addressed in this chapter through an examination of both the public proclamations put forth by TANU and its first leader, Julius Nyerere and by way of the discussion of the relationship between Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad. What remains to be discussed is how in the midst of a desire to construct a citizenry which believed in these ideological tenets, dialogue concerning discontent between various social groups became repressed. What led citizens to believe that with national sovereignty came the responsibility to silence their own misgivings about achieving equality with their neighbors? How do residents of Bagamoyo, a town noted for its role in the East African slave trade make sense of contemporary social relations among themselves, given this history? And do relics of slavery remain in the everyday lives of the people of Bagamoyo?¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Nyerere often made mention of the pre-colonial past, however, the area of Tanzania has been colonized by the Omani Sultanate, the British, Germans and as far back as the 15th century struggled with Portuguese invaders.

¹¹⁰ In correspondence between two British officials expressing chagrin over a visiting official’s assertion that slavery continued on in the western portion of the country. One officer noted in official correspondence, “no evidence or relics of slavery persist” (TNA Acc. 202/1).

Emancipating Memory or Reviving Past Pains?

The preceding portion of this chapter examined how Nyerere's leadership influenced the construction of the United Republic of Tanzania, based upon the principles of freedom, equality and unity. The following investigates the manner in which residents of Bagamoyo relate to these ideas and the challenges which come to light when the national ideal is not corroborated by lived realities. In a previous section of this chapter I made reference to Nyerere's response to criticisms concerning the number of Christians represented in civil servant positions, immediately following Independence. In one of his many radio broadcasts, Nyerere (1973) challenged those critics by stating that accusations of discrimination on the part of the government necessitated evidence or else one could only assume that without such, the accusers were merely "stirring up tribalism" (p.76). Whether it was the fear of being labeled a fool or instigator, both terms used by Mwalimu to describe such accusers, the demand placed on citizens to avoid "stirring up tribalism" continues to inform the ways Tanzanians discuss community fissures in public spaces. Consequently, the following demonstrates that the ways in which residents frame their discussions about social relations and the legacy of slavery in town is tempered by both an allegiance to Nyerere's envisioning of the nation and the challenge of conveying personal experiences and understandings of life in Bagamoyo.

Nyerere's 1968 directive that accusations of discrimination need be supported by evidence or else be deemed arguably a subversive act, did not fall on deaf ears. Among research participants, a great many, across generations prefaced responses concerning the racial background or ancestry of another resident with statements such as "I cannot lie" or the "government requires the truth". Among Muslim participants, the refrain, "If God knows that I am lying" was repeated on numerous occasions if participants were unsure if whether or not the

information they were sharing was absolutely accurate. Respondents expressed a sincere concern that I understand that their intent in sharing information with me was not to make accusations against neighbors personally or to identify those who were known to have slave ancestry and insisted that the government forbade naming anyone as a slave. For instance, when Iddi Segumba a resident of Bagamoyo was asked about the relationship between families of slave descendants and owners, he stated,

Now they cooperate, the families of slave owners and families of slaves today...they cooperate well because all of us are civilized. Now, if you call someone a slave, you will be sent to a court of law and you will be punished” (personal communication, February 12, 2009).

The idea that one could be punished under the law for alleging that a neighbor was a descendant of slaves was described as being a result of government legislation. Though there is no mention of making “talk” of lineage an offence which could result in being taken to court under either the German or British colonial administrations, archival evidence confirms the prosecution of those who continued to keep slaves or kidnap individuals for sale following the mandate.¹¹¹ Responding to inquiry concerning the prevalence of such activity, a British district official wrote to the Chief Secretary on the mainland,

I have the honour to inform you that as far any records show no prosecution under the Involuntary Servitude (Abolition) Ordinance Chapter XXVI of the Laws has been instituted since August, 1940. Eight prosecutions were instituted during the period from 1st August, 1940, to 31st July, 1941.

The records to which the official refers listed six of the seven charged men with wrongful

¹¹¹ I have reviewed the initial constitution following independence and found no mention of legal action for identifying a person from slave ancestry, nor have my review of colonial papers revealed such. The news from the colonial posting announced the mandate and the punishment for those who ignored the rules set forth and all those in possession of enslaved persons would be fined or face prison. However, even upon further conversations with participants, they held firm to the belief that legal repercussions would be faced for making such allegations. As such, I maintain that upon Independence, Nyerere’s warning against “stirring up tribalism” influences public discourse surrounding the institution and legacy of slavery in the country.

confinement and the seventh with kidnapping from lawful guardianship.¹¹²

The influence of government was also discussed by Mzee Ally Mtengwa, born in 1928 who described the disappearance of stigma associated with slave ancestry in town. He described, “In the past they [former slaves] were [stigmatized] but in my lifetime that does not happen. Our government strictly restricts anyone to be called a slave, partly because the slave trade was abolished.” (personal communication, January 10, 2009). Again, government intervention is presented as a key influence in the eventual removal of stigma associated with slave ancestry. However, other interviews yet to be discussed reveal that such stigma did not simply disappear with either the signing of the Involuntary Ordinance of 1922 nor did it vanish following the independence campaign. Interestingly, however is that couched within responses by residents concerning the removal of stigma and emphasis placed on ancestry, slave or otherwise, was the underlying theme of forgetting.

For example, when asked whether or not families continued to be judged based on upon their ancestry, one elder responded, “There is no conflict now as people respect each other, Now, we are a united nation and there is no need to relive past pain. People prefer to forget bad times” (personal communication, December 29, 2008). In another case, a Catholic man described how there was a time when those whose slave lineage was known were prevented from marrying “the civilized” or those thought to never have been enslaved but he followed the story saying

¹¹² Five of those charged with the wrongful confinement charges were sentenced one to six months in jail. Two were fined 10 TSH or serve 14 days in jail. The individual charged with kidnapping had the charge withdrawn and was released. Earlier ledgers listing such prosecutions also included charges such as “compelling women to labour against their wills, contrary to Sec. 243 of Penal Code”; TNA, Acc. 34.

“Because it was in the past, let us live normal now” (personal communication, December 29, 2008).¹¹³

Emphatic responses about leaving the past alone were almost always followed by the participants’ remembrances of Mwalimu Nyerere and the quest for national independence. As Juma expressed, “Nyerere wanted people to forget the past. He wanted our country to experience peace and harmony” (personal communication, December 29, 2008) or “Nyerere wanted to make a united nation, so he did not like the discussion of slavery” (personal communication, January 4, 2009). As the previous portion of this chapter demonstrated, Nyerere’s emphasis on the development of a unified nation became deeply ingrained in the national consciousness of the country’s citizens. These statements become more understandable when one considers that at the dawn of independence Nyerere stood before the people and addressed the Tanganyika Legislative Assembly proclaiming,

We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on the top of Mount Kilimanjaro which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate, and dignity where there was before only humiliation (Nyerere, 1982:147).¹¹⁴

And in fact, this symbolic imagery of a lit candle resonated with the people of Tanzania and those elsewhere because since independence, Tanzania has long been touted as the safe haven of the region, its largest city and former capital; Dar es Salaam translates to “Haven of Peace”. It has served as a beacon of relative peace in a region which has experienced significant conflict

¹¹³ The account of couples being prevented from marrying if it was known that one was a descendant of slaves was commonly recounted. The account is documented in a cartoon mural in the exhibit room dedicated to slavery and the slave trade in Bagamoyo at the government funded Caravan-serai located at the center of town.

¹¹⁴ Nyerere gave this speech in 1959, just two years before Independence.

and has for the last 50 years served as host nation to refugees from countries such as Burundi, Congo and Rwanda.

Jennifer Cole (2004) has written, that

memory connects the individual and private with the social and public in complex ways. As such, memory remains a key site at which one can witness the multiple ways in which individual subjectivity is tied to larger projects of political struggle and historical transformation (p. 104).

In this regard, my research supports Wulf Kanstiner's (2002) assertion that citizens are not merely "memory consumers" but "memory producers" as well. References made to leaving the past alone and the importance of focusing on the Nyerere's vision of the country as one which required an active forgetfulness of the past insults rooted either in racial, ethnic, ancestral or religious difference provide further evidence of this claim.

The public discourse surrounding Tanzania's ability to unite over 120 ethnic groups and maintain national peace on the mainland in the quest for Independence is part and parcel to Tanzanian national identity. It became evident that recognizing such was central to understanding the tensions that research participants and other Bagamoyo residents with whom I spoke faced when contextualizing contemporary relations in the town within the historical legacy of slavery. Thus, what can on one level be understood as an allegiance to *Baba ya Taifa* in terms of residents' desires not to "revive past pains", because of fear that their responses could potentially disrupt the public narrative surrounding Tanzania's image is in fact more personal. Because as my findings support, who we believe ourselves to be is tightly and intimately bound in how we see our role or place in the nation.¹¹⁵ Thus, broaching a topic such as slavery which essentially represents the greatest human rights violation committed by societies, I was asking

¹¹⁵ Kiswahili for "Father of the Nation"

residents to point fingers at “guilty parties” (whatever their role in the institution of slavery had been) and this was for sure an unacceptable act because in many ways it defied social rules of what was to be remembered and what was to be forgotten.

In comparison to conversations about race and ethnicity, exchanges concerning relations between Muslims and Christians were discussed less overtly.¹¹⁶ Clenga, a local artist in his thirties clarifies this point of contention stating,

People do not talk much about history because there is something about not making people to feel pain about history and religions. About the slave trade here, it's about two religions, Christian and Muslim and many people here and near here are Muslim and there are a lot of mosques so people don't like to think about Arabic slave trade. And they don't think much because they are friends together and they don't think much about Germans or colonialism because there is a Catholic church...it makes people feel bad, so people they don't talk about the history much here in Bagamoyo. (personal communication, January 12, 2009)

Thus, as revealed in Clenga's statement there exist among residents of Bagamoyo, both Muslim and Christian a seemingly unspoken pact to forego discussions of past offences in efforts to prevent further emotional discomfort or pain. Issak, a 31 year old man who attended the local arts college and now works as a police officer in town also explained the challenges of speaking about the past,

Those who speak freely about that issue [slavery] could be very few. You know others are trying to forget things that happened in the past because if you remember, others can get really annoyed. You can end up getting upset and hating someone according to the deeds against our people in the past. That could happen and it has happened that Arabs were hated and didn't want to be seen (personal communication, January 19, 2009).

¹¹⁶ This may be because interviewees assumed that I was a Christian as I lived in town during Ramadan and had taken meals during the midday at the restaurant nearest my home which sits just across from the local college. Additionally, assumptions were made that since I spent much time at the Catholic mission, I would only do so if I were a Christian. Interestingly, only Catholic participants asked about my personal faith. I assume, that this allowed them to speak more freely, though still guarded about their feelings about Islam, particularly in regards to the slave trade.

Issak's reference to the revolution in Zanzibar is illuminating because while the mainland had not experienced any violence immediately preceding independence from the British, its proximity and relationship with Zanzibar as its neighbor offered Tanzanians with a proverbial "front row seat" to the implications of racial conflict, particularly when predicated on the institution of slavery.¹¹⁷

The most high profile native of Bagamoyo, Jakaya Kikwete, the current president of Tanzania precisely articulated this point in an address at Boston University in 2006, stating,

The political unity and religious tolerance that we pride ourselves in did not come by accident. It is a product of deliberate action and vision of the successive generation of the leaders of Tanzania from the founding President the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere to the present.

This deliberate action of which Kikwete refers to again highlights the emphasis made on projecting a national image which is void discord rooted in racial, ethnic or religious animosity and upholds the ideal that Tanzania has long represented an African nation in which both Muslims and Christians have coexisted. In addition, Kikwete remarks further support the argument that such can be attributed to the work of Nyerere and in fact that such allegiance is not an isolated belief presented in the privacy of the homes of the Bagamoyo residents I interviewed but is part of the larger, far more public discourse. Ishumi and Maliyamkono (1996) poignantly make this assessment writing

It is a legacy non-readable in print, but shown on the faces, in the actions, and in the open infatuation of a wide cross-section of Tanzanians. These provide evidence of the deep influence and popularity of the leader who guided the destiny of his nation for four decades (p. 57).

¹¹⁷ For more on the revolution or background on colonial Zanzibar please see, (Lofchie 1965; Sheriff 1991; Fair 2001; Shiviji 2008; Burgess 2009; Glassman 2011).

Even following the political unrest and subsequent violence in Kenya following the 2007 elections, Tanzanians spoke of the difference between the way they were united and able to escape “tribalism” unlike their neighbors to the north. Hence, a reputation which extends beyond regional recognition, Tanzanians indeed cherish the legacy of peace and stability. As Nyerere (1973) confirmed, “our country is one of those in Africa which is highly praised for its unity. We have no tribalism, no religious quarrelling, no colour discrimination and we oppose discrimination and oppression on grounds of tribe, religion, or colour, wherever it exists...” (p. 74). Therefore, a repression of discourse concerning social dynamics which highlight or make reference to divisions between social groups is seen as counterproductive to the national image of the country. As such, the slave trade and the institution of slavery are seen as the antithesis of the Tanzanian identity upon which the national consciousness was built.

There Are Whispers: Personal Truths as Counter-Memory

Sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel (1996) writes that remembering is “more than just a spontaneous act. It is also regulated by unmistakably social rules of remembrance that tell us quite specifically what we should remember and what we can or must forget” (p. 286). If conversations about the history of slavery in Tanzania require a forgetting or a silencing of the past, then discussions of the present necessitate acts of remembrance in some form which allow citizens to make connections to the past, despite the disruptions doing so may bring. In the case of Bagamoyo residents, the following explores how connections made between personal experience and the towns slave heritage is revealed.

In Bagamoyo the images of and references to the “slave” have become iconoclastic representations of social stratification, expected servility and inequalities experienced on the

coast. As demonstrated throughout this work, residents have made use of the images and experiences of the enslaved to show their feelings concerning contemporary issues particularly those matters concerning presumed superiority or inferiority of a particular social group whether in terms of religious, ethnic or class identity. It is through these conversations in which lived experiences are shared that the concept of counter-memory comes to the fore.

“You know in Tanzania, I see the politics of knowing something [is] different from the way you speak it because Tanzanians tend to know the truth is this and what it is...So I know this but I’m going to say this” (personal communication, December 29, 2008). These words were offered by my research assistant Haidari Kirumbi who also worked as a teacher at the arts college in Bagamoyo. His words came in the early days of interviewing residents in New Town as he reflected on the underlying nuances of what was shared with me by participants.¹¹⁸ Kirumbi’s insight speaks to the aforementioned discomfort and/or reluctance of some interviewees to discuss situations which could possibly be misconstrued as a duplicitous act in the eyes of their neighbors. Assuredly, this concern was further complicated by my presence as an outsider. With this in mind, I preceded into each conversation cognizant of the fact that

Each testimony must be considered as a text to be analysed on several levels and to be understood hermeneutically, where the factual truth of what the individual claims is less important than its emotional truth, and where the content of what is

¹¹⁸ Though able to speak conversational Swahili and read the language adequately, my language skills were not apt enough to immediately catch the subtleties in word choice or the whispered remarks which followed statements by those interviewed. In fact, it was not until Kirumbi and I would meet to translate the interviews and discuss the day that these subtleties would reveal themselves often times through the coding exercise described in the methodology chapter or more often when Kirumbi would pause during our translation exercises to ensure that I was not taking various statements literally. One example came when I was translating the biographical portion of an interview with an elder, who had described his childhood memories with his mother and siblings but described himself as an orphan. I was unclear as to how this could be. Kirumbi explained that for Muslims, to be without a father or uncle to care for a child, one is considered an orphan. The respondent expressed great distress at how being without a father informed his life course.

narrated is less important than the ways in which it is expressed” (Jedlowski 2001: 32).

In the early portion of most interviews, research participants painted a picture of community life in Bagamoyo as one void of conflict. As shown in the preceding section, the presentation of a unified community is a fundamental component of Tanzanian nationalist ideal. Even so, as time passed and research participants began to speak of their own experiences of life in Bagamoyo, 83% made use of vicarious memories of slavery to contextualize experiences of not only the colonial period but most often present day social relations.¹¹⁹ Among these experiences were those which focused on ethnic/racial relations, religious difference and class divisions.

Just prior to my second visit to Bagamoyo in the summer of 2008, two young men of Afro-Arab descent from a prominent family in the town were accused and later arrested for the awful beating of another young man from the Morogoro region.¹²⁰ The arrest and subsequent course case and ruling were brought to my attention on numerous occasions by residents as we discussed life in Bagamoyo. In particular, the younger cohort of interviewees, primarily those between the ages of 18 and 40 used the case as a way to articulate their experiences and personal opinions with and about their peers born into families of historical prominence.

There was no mention of the beating suffered by the young man in Bagamoyo or the eventual imprisonment of one of the offenders, the temporary detainment of the father of the two men or the fleeing of the second offender in the local news. As one resident stated, “It was not big news but it was big news to us” (personal communication, January 21, 2009). As far as

¹¹⁹ Of the 48 formal interviews conducted, 44 of those interviewed made specific mention of the slave trade or slavery when explaining ethnic/racial relations.

¹²⁰ Morogoro is northwest of Dar es Salaam. In geographical comparison to coastal Bagamoyo, the region is considered as part of the hinterland. This becomes significant in that some respondents pointed to this being one of the reasons that the family of the young man did not fear the reprisals from the prominent Bagamoyo family.

residents knew at the time, the assault victim had recovered, one of the offenders remained in jail and the other had yet to return to Bagamoyo. When others were asked about the incident, one resident explained, “Yes, I do remember. The Arabs wanted to show their status and not be punished. However, such a thing won’t happen again, as the law took its course” (personal communication, January 18, 2008). Here, the focus is on the effectiveness and parity of the law which is similar to those who pointed to Nyerere as the architect of a political doctrine of equality and brotherhood.

Kareem, who was born on the island of Zanzibar and has lived in Bagamoyo for nearly eight years described the offender’s fathers’ initial visit to the police station where his sons were being held and spoke specifically about the current administration’s stance,. He described

The father also went over there to help out because Africans are lower in Bagamoyo but the government asked, ‘Why should it be that way?’ The government of Kikwete is very good and the government doesn’t care whether you came from the lineage of slaves...or if you are Barack Obama. (personal communication, February 12, 2009).

Quick to assure me that he was only joking about President Obama’s hypothetical imprisonment, Kareem’s point had been to emphasize the government’s commitment to equality and justice in such circumstances. For Kareem as well as others the assumed superiority and privilege which children of wealthier and notable families had normally expected was now a thing of the past, particularly given that Bagamoyo is the hometown of President Kikwete.¹²¹ Finally, when asked how those related to or of the Afro-Arab community reacted to the ruling, there was very little consensus. For some Afro-Arabs according to interviewees, the arrest had relieved the

¹²¹ President Kikwete’s father also experienced success in Bagamoyo working in the latter days of the colonial era. In another interview, a resident expressed thoughts that perhaps the beating of the young man had been taken seriously because Bagamoyo was Kikwete’s birthplace and that Kikwete’s rise to the presidency signaled to the local Afro-Arab community that those who hailed from other ethnic groups could indeed prosper and gain such status.

community of “troublemakers” and for others the incident had been described as greatly exaggerated. Interestingly, when I discussed the case with elders none of whom were of Arab descent, they described the situation as being a case of rebellious youth with very little mention of the role of class and/or status. However, Kareem offered a more terse assessment of the situation when describing a conversation with a friend whom “shared the same lineage” as the accused. He recalled, “I asked him why we Tanzanians cannot have rights because firstly this country is ours as Africans and you people were visitors. We just welcomed you. *Hakuna matata* and after that you pretend like you know so much more than we Africans...” (personal communication, February 12, 2009).¹²²

Kareem’s reenactment of his conversation with his friend of Arab descent offers an opportune segue way to other conversations I shared with Bagamoyo residents both in the course of formal interviews and informal conversations concerning contemporary relations between residents of Arab descent and other groups. Another resident whom I interviewed described interactions between these two groups stating,

They have good relations in terms of living without fighting and without these serious quarrels, but the way I find they live there is not this close cooperation. There is not, especially no close cooperation because I find that the Afro-Arabs are well off, the black Africans are not well off. Maybe there may be good relations between these two parties if the black African is well off then the Arabs are ready to cooperate with him in doing business maybe or maybe inviting him in social occasions because of his wealth but otherwise no relationship which is...real. (personal communication, February 4, 2009)

This was not the only participant to express such disconnect between the ideal of Tanzanian unity and the reality of lived experience in the town of Bagamoyo. In fact, he too reveled at Nyerere’s success at unifying the nation and thus thwarting further conflict stemming

¹²² *Hakuna matata*, no worries or without worries or problems.

from religious, ethnic or class divisions, yet the statement reveals the tension between public discourse and private affairs. The remark that there is “no relationship which is...real” signals that there is an awareness of the divisions based upon race and class though it may not always be publicly expressed.

The thought that class and race were intimately intertwined was not ignored by Nyerere following national independence. Taylor (1963) assessed Nyerere’s understanding of the matter noting that “the greatest danger to Tanganyika’s racial harmony was the disparity in the relative degree of wealth between the three racial communities...the economic divisions in Tanganyika were almost identical to the racial divisions. He [Nyerere] warned that Tanganyika’s harmonious race relations would not long survive if the standard of living of the masses was not quickly raised (p. 202).

On a similar note, while conversations concerning differences between ethnic groups were not as numerous as those which focused on difference between Afro-Arabs and Africans, those who commented on ethnic difference also reflected on the variance of narratives presented to the public versus their own experiences. For instance, one interviewee explained how individuals from different ethnic groups might have greater difficulty gaining employment particularly in government positions. In this case, one research participant explained why a Zaramo might not be hired as a civil servant,¹²³

Outside the cooperation is very nice backed with political slogans you find there is a very good relationship but inside people separate themselves to the extent that people may deny you a post only because of these differences of ethnicity although you are qualified (personal communication, February 4, 2009).

¹²³ Those interviewed who were Zaramo often referred to be the original inhabitants of the area and discussed stereotypes made about their group. Also interesting is that some Zaramo chiefs along the coast participated in the slave trade and enslaved persons from the interior to work their lands (Deutsch 2006). In my interviews with Zaramo residents formally or informally this was never mentioned.

When asked why the Zaramo in particular might not have the same chances at employment, his explanation turned to the era of the slave trade and German colonial period during which time the Zaramo were supposedly able to avoid capture and enslavement due to their numbers along the coast and knowledge of the landscape.¹²⁴ Interestingly, Kirumbi, also a Zaramo suggested that as long time occupants of the coast, evading capture also prevented integration in larger diverse communities which in turn prevented the acquisition of formal education. Nineteen year old Asha also explained, “the Zaramo are not respected because most of them are not educated. They like traditional things like *ngoma*” (A. Ramadani, personal communication, December 26, 2008).¹²⁵ Though these two statements were specifically about the Zaramo, other interviews also revealed the importance of formal education in mitigating perceptions of lower status and respectability.

Whether a conversation turned to the history of slavery in efforts to explain how some ethnic groups were largely able to avoid enslavement or if the discussion emerged as way to demonstrate shifts in the ways in which justice was managed by the courts, these instances further support the argument that vicarious memories of slavery come to light in efforts to not only counter or confirm emerging narratives but as importantly these memories are used as a way to make sense of individual and group experiences while situating one’s self within the historical record. To be clear, I am suggesting that as in the case of the Zaramo and other social groups whom may claim to have no genealogical ties to enslaved persons of the past, the history of slavery in the town still informs the ways in which residents interact with one another and how they envision their standing in the community.

¹²⁵ Ngoma, traditional dance.

Whereas the discussion of how the lived experiences and understandings of contemporary social relations in Bagamoyo have focused primarily on the significance of race, ethnicity and class, I would like to briefly turn to the another perspective which offers an alternative view of counter-memories and discourses concerning slave heritage. The following concludes this discussion of counter-memory by turning to how the very few of those who acknowledge their slave ancestry challenge the prevailing narrative which presents slave lineage as one marked by shame and stigma.

In an interview with a relative of Sheik Ramiya's family, the question was raised as to whether those with slave ancestry in Bagamoyo were comfortable with sharing their lineage in public. Mzee Jembe responded,

There are none who would make such proclamations here. It is *these* Americans who have freedom to speak [about slavery] because many slaves who went there [America] married one another and *remade* themselves... and can say that "our ancestors were slaves" but here in Tanzania who would claim such? ¹²⁶(A.M. Jembe, personal communication, February 22, 2009).

In this stead, Mzee Jembe voices the sentiments expressed by not only the majority of those interviewed for this project but also corroborates the historical record which demonstrates that the formerly enslaved and their progeny were marginalized following emancipation and in some cases continue to be disenfranchised based upon their heritage.

¹²⁶ Mzee Jembe, clearly was making reference to my personal slave heritage as a Black American. He was resolute in his assertion that Black Americans could be proud of their ancestry because of the gains made by Black Americans despite slave ancestry. Also interesting is how Mzee Jembe attributes the marriage between slaves in America as another distinction between the experience of the enslaved in the U.S. and the enslaved in Tanzania. For in the American context a freedman and woman could be married but both were always Black. Whereas, in Mzee Jembe's mind, enslaved persons might be more inclined to choose to hide their lineage when possible since the color of one's skin did not automatically mark one as the progeny of slaves as it did in the United States.

Consider one component of the former slave population, the Catholic freedmen and women who occupied the area closest to the Bagamoyo Mission. Their conversion and continued residence at the Mission automatically marked them as the progeny of slaves. As the previous and subsequent chapters reveal, the mixing of Muslims and Christians was frowned upon by the Catholic missionaries who feared their teachings might be corrupted by the town's followers of Islam. However, these two faiths increasingly crossed paths as the campaign for independence brought them to the same struggle. This does not mean however that either "side" forgot how each had been viewed by the other in the past. For instance, Elizabeth Manjadi detailed how for some of slave ancestry there might exist the fear of being ridiculed or having jokes said about them based on the status of their ancestors. However, she further explained, "If someone should tell me that I am a descendant of slaves, I would tell him that "you must also be a slave because we are living in the same area and after all I can now hire you to work on my farm!" (personal communication, December 29, 2008). While such a response may not be characteristic of others who choose not to reveal their slave lineage, Bibi Manjadi was not the lone research participant to share such a line of thinking. For instance, one elder resident of New Town expressed great pride in the accomplishments made by those assumed to be descendants of the runaway and ransomed slaves of the Mission. Speaking freely, she spoke of the gains made by being Catholic and becoming educated proclaiming "we were the slaves, now we are the teachers" (personal communication).¹²⁷

¹²⁷ The methodology makes brief mention of this encounter because it was among key episodes while conducting interviews that a research respondent made me a part of the inclusive "we", suggesting that I as a black American understood the statements being made without further explanation. Often times comments would be made with a slight wink or laugh. Some respondents made reference to the election of President Barack Obama which had occurred just one month prior to the beginning of these interviews as evidence of progress which had been made by "people like us" or "we Africans".

Again, the issue of education is raised and in this case Bibi Germana is referring to access to mission education which during the colonial administration and years immediately following national independence placed many of those whom had in one way or another been categorized based on their ancestry and/or adoption of Catholicism in a position to compete for jobs in the civil service, attain higher educational goals and thus improve their financial well-being. In terms of Bibi Manjadi's hypothetical response to those who might choose to mock her ancestry, her retort draws attention to both her financial well-being in that she owns land which needs to be cultivated and the fact that she can pay others to work for her. Moreover, the ability to have and do both is a feat particularly because Bibi Manjadi is able to do so because as she explained was educated and had worked as a teacher for more than thirty years. Finally, four of the six research participants who claimed slave ancestry also pointed to the use of cement to remodel their homes, the success of their children and grandchildren who had studied abroad or found employment in Dar es Salaam as evidence of how they had proved that they were no longer as Bibi Germana stated, "of slave mentality" (personal communication, December 28, 2008).¹²⁸

Conclusion

In sum, a people's efforts to build a nation with a history of slavery and colonialism in its not so distant past necessitated a platform which encouraged every member of the citizenry to leave memories of past injustices behind them. This chapter has shown that with abolition did not come absolution nor did the making of a newly independent nation cancel out previous

¹²⁸ Bibi Germana and two other research participants made reference to the "slave mentality". In Bibi Germana's case she referred to her father as having *slave mentality* because he forced her to leave school following the death of her mother. The other two respondents used the term as a euphemism denoting unseemly behavior or to act outside of what was considered respectable behavior.

grievances despite a nationalist agenda which gave primacy to unity in such a way that its potentiality subverted honest discourse concerning these social divisions based on race, class and religion. In fact, as shown throughout this project, some residents continue to explain existing societal fissures and life circumstances as having roots in the legacy of slavery which continues to permeate various aspects of life in Bagamoyo.

Chapter Five

What's in a Tale?

*What ought not a daughter suffer for a beloved mother?
Is it not better to die with her than to survive her?
(Gaume 1871:52)*

*I come from a place where breath, eyes and memory are one,
A place from which you carry your past like the hair on your head.
Where women return to their children as butterflies or as tears in
the eyes of the statues that their daughters pray to.
(Dandicat 1998: 234)*

“There is no agony” writes Zora Neale Hurston, “like bearing an untold story”. Whether transmitted through oral tradition, performed through the ritual of dance and song, written in the verses of poets or recorded in the sacred books of religious faiths, the story even told can prove to encumber those who know and speak the tale. From the woeful tale of an enslaved pregnant woman on the island of Zanzibar to the rescued slave girl from Congo who lives out a life of religious service and freedom, to the ransoming of another who finds a new life in a community among other newly freed slaves, these tales are among those which inform the collective memories of residents of Bagamoyo.

These stories though varied in terms of dearth of detail, context and duration, present the experiences of three women all of whom were either captured and/or enslaved along the Swahili coast. What can be made of the continued significance of these stories in the memory of residents in Bagamoyo? What is it about the accounts of these three women that compel remembering in this post-emancipation community?

This chapter investigates the manner in which these stories remain at the forefront of local memory. In agreement with Paul Stoller (1995) who writes that “memories are more likely

stored in tales, objects and bodies than in text”, I am particularly invested in uncovering which factors account for the continued recounting of these tales in public and private spaces across generations (p. 30). Based upon analysis of the texts, review of coded interview transcripts and primary and secondary source material, the following demonstrates that these tales remain a part of the collective memory of slavery and the slave trade in Bagamoyo for two key reasons. First, I argue that the representation of mother and child in each of these tales resonates with those who recall the stories and is linked to underlying themes of loss and belonging, both of which are central to conceptualizations of the historical era and experiences of the trade. Secondly, I argue that through the narration of these stories residents and other historical actors construct a discursive space in which larger claims about the slave past and its legacy in the contemporary moment are revealed. The chapter begins with a summation of the three tales, followed by a discussion of the significance of the themes of loss and belonging. The second portion examines how social actors “make use” of these tales to communicate other concerns and how doing so renders the women in these tales as palimpsests of memory.

Intersecting Tales, Interwoven Lives

In 1974, Maria Ernestina, the last known former slave in Bagamoyo died. Maria Ernestina’s life course chronicles the dramatic socio-economic and political shifts experienced along the coast. She experienced enslavement as a child alongside her mother, secured freedom after Germans disrupted the caravan of which they were a part, was ransomed by the Catholic Church, lived under both German and British colonial rule and witnessed the eventual independence of the country. Her picture, taken in the latter days of her life is hung among other artifacts documenting the slave trade and slavery in East Africa in the Bagamoyo Mission

museum, the site of the first Catholic Church in East Africa built in 1868. Despite a childhood spent in the Mission's freedom village home to recently freed and escaped slaves and a life spent in close proximity to the Catholic Mission grounds little else is recorded about Maria Ernestina's life. Despite this limited accounting of her life as a former slave in Bagamoyo, her experience was often recounted in field interviews as were the two following stories.

In the story of Swema, a young Yao girl from the interior of Congo is taken from her home following the death of her father and her mother's inability to pay an overdue debt.¹²⁹ The narrative is among the earliest recorded of a former captive of the East African slave trade. Transcribed and translated by Father Anthony Horner, the story describes how Swema witnesses her mother's death on the caravan route towards the coast and eventually finds herself buried alive by an Arab slave trader because she is weakened and thus is of little use to her captors. Swema survives the attempt on her life and is taken in by missionaries in Zanzibar, converts to Catholicism, is educated, enters the convent and becomes a nurse. The story then details Swema's serendipitous meeting several years later with the slave trader who left both she and her mother to die as he is a wounded patient that she as a nurse, is instructed to care for despite her feelings of anger and resentment. Demonstrated as a test of her faithfulness and her ability to forgive, the narrative concludes with Swema forgiving the slave trader for his offenses (Gaume 1871; Alpers 1983; Kollman 2005). For Bagamoyo residents, the story of Swema is recalled across generations, particularly among Catholic research participants. Among those who recalled the story of Swema, most either remembered the story being told to them in primary school or having the story narrated during a field trip to the local Mission museum. Interestingly, in some

¹²⁹ In the original published account, the name given is Suema the French version of Swema or Siwema. I have chosen to use Swema in keeping with Alpers (1983) first discussion of the story.

cases, participants could not recollect where they had learned of the story, despite their ability to recall the essential aspects of the tale.

The final tale which was shared during the course of fieldwork was the story of an unidentified pregnant slave woman who meets an undeniably horrific fate. Two elders share,

To speak the truth slavery was embarrassing it was persecution. For instance [if] an Arab woman would like to see how a baby is lying in the stomach then a pregnant woman could be cut so that the woman could see the baby inside. (Yusuf Shamir, personal communication, January 8, 2009)

You know during slavery people suffered a lot. The reality was that you were forced to work. For instance my grandmother told me one tribulation of slavery was that...you see at that time an Arab wife would like to see a dead person then the slave was ordered to climb up that coconut tree and was forced to fall...The other thing was that if she wanted to see how a baby is positioned in the uterus a slave pregnant woman could be cut so that the Arab wife could see that. And those were the things that make me very sad up to now. How would you feel to be killed while looking? (Elizabeth Manjadi, personal communication, December 28, 2008)

This story of the unnamed pregnant woman who is murdered and loses her child at the behest of the Arab slave masters wife is particularly interesting for both the vile imagery as well as its re-emergence during the Zanzibar revolution. Additionally, whereas Swema and Bibi Maria Ernestina are identified by name and are in fact a part of the written historical record in that in the very least we are able to place them in specific locales, the identity of the pregnant slave woman is unknown. However, as in the case of Maria Ernestina whose life account is fractional, this singular episode of violence committed against an unknown slave woman and her unborn child is retold in interviews by research participants of varying faiths, ethnicities and age cohort.

To Be Rendered Kinless: Loss and Belonging on the Swahili Coast

In the 1999 student led stage production entitled “Tears of Fear/Tears of Joy”; Swema’s story was performed by students of the Bagamoyo College of Arts for area residents and students. The following lyrics are from a song entitled “Song of the Slave” performed within the play,

My heart is bleeding; bleed, my heart.
Where are you, my father, my mother?
Where are you, my brother, my sister?
Where are you, my friends?
Are you caught like me? I am so lonely?
My heart is bleeding; bleed my heart!

What is it about the story of Swema, a tale narrated by a young girl in 1876 that still resonates with research participants living in Bagamoyo today? These lyrics offer a key to gaining further understanding in that in this stanza, captives traveling from the interior towards the coast where dhows await their arrival for transport implore their loved ones to disclose whether they too have met a similar fate. The “song of the slave” reveals a longing for home and familial bonds that have been irrevocably broken as a result of enslavement.

I contend that Swema’s experience as a child captive taken after having lost her father and witnessing the death of her mother makes the orphaned Swema, a powerful presentation of the continual sense of loss experienced by those captured and eventually sold in the trade. Her narrative which begins while she is a young child provides those who recall the tale a glimpse into the journey of the captive from the point of capture, to the coast and across the Indian Ocean to the island of Zanzibar, site of the largest slave market in East Africa. Such details afford those who encounter the tale of Swema a firsthand account of the historical moment of the slave trade thus allowing for the envisioning of the bewilderment and sense of loss experienced by the

majority of those who traveled the trade route as captives.¹³⁰ Consequently, Swema's story encapsulates a foremost fear of the slave trade; the loss of a kinship network.

The very nature of enslavement required alienation from the social world in which one had been born. In the case of both Swema and Maria Ernestina, the journey from areas as far away as present day Congo and Burundi made the possibility of returning home unlikely, further cementing the reality that the two alongside their mothers were beyond the protection of kinfolk and soon to enter an environment in which very little would be familiar. To contextualize the historical moment in which these tales occur, it is important to detail the social milieu of Mission life in which these young girls entered as well as the social world in which other enslaved women living beyond the realm of the Catholic Church subsisted.

For Maria Ernestina, her mother and Swema as well, security was found within the walls of the Catholic mission at Bagamoyo for the former and Zanzibar for the latter. As such, the newly ransomed and escaped all found new linkages among communities formed in enclaves of Catholic men and women. St. Joseph's village, a communal village constructed by the Spiritans in 1868 on the grounds of the Catholic mission at Bagamoyo was home and refuge for newly freed, ransomed and escaped slaves.¹³¹ Maria Ernestina, who is said to have arrived in Bagamoyo in 1872, can be assumed to have been instructed at the mission schools under the tutelage of Spiritan sisters. Among the children at Bagamoyo mission a basic elementary education was required in that from among these children would emerge those charged with the

¹³⁰ Kollman's work on the evangelization of slaves in Zanzibar and Tanganyika during the nineteenth century provides evidence that Father Horner took great license in the transcription of Swema's story. Kollman suggest, using evidence from correspondence initiated by Father Bauer, another Spiritan working at both missions, that the tale was in fact greatly exaggerated by Father Horner.

¹³¹ The majority of slaves arrived to the mission by order of the British anti-slave trading ships who had rescued captives from vessels bound for the slave market or plantations on the island of Zanzibar.

task of spreading gospel to the interior and given such an understanding of religious text and catechism was necessary (Kollman 2005). While it is presumed that schooling was a part of Swema's and Maria Ernestina's daily schedule, so too was their time spent in the fields. As Kollman (2005) notes, the mission at Bagamoyo was envisioned as an agricultural colony and as such all those who called the Freedom village home, were expected to work for its betterment.

In the case, of Maria Ernestina's mother, it can be assumed that she spent days working along other women and men at the mission, working either on the farms or assisting with the domestic duties required to keep the Mission running. For Swema, her eventual life as a novice probably provided her with social ties made formal through her religious vocation. While Maria Ernestina's life spent among the missionaries and other former slaves of the Freedom village offered ties to family and a new sense of security, after having experienced capture, I do not intend to suggest that life at the Mission was either ideal or without its problems or that it was a replacement for the life these women had previously known. Instead, I suggest that life at the Bagamoyo Mission, afforded a greater protection from physical harm for women and children than perhaps plantation life in Zanzibar or elsewhere in the Indian Ocean littoral.

To consider the importance of protection and incorporation into some sort of kinship network for the women in these accounts, consider again the extreme violence suffered by the unnamed pregnant slave woman. While the experience of loss is unmistakable, through the deaths of presumably of both mother and child, the case can be made that the account serves as a demonstration of what did or could occur when a slave woman *belonged* to her master but did not *belong* to a network of kin, fictive or otherwise who could protect her. Thus, the tale intimates that belonging was in fact essential to one's very survival. Accordingly, the Mission, in terms of thematic representations within the accounts, I argue symbolize a place in which new

families were forged, kinship networks were created, thus supporting the importance of belonging.

Beyond the boundaries of the mission, enslaved men and women experiences varied as indicated in previous chapters. For men who acquired skills as craftsmen or found themselves in the employ of caravans heading to the interior, access to resources increased as did opportunities to become more socially mobile. For enslaved women however living beyond the mission, access to opportunities to either pay their own way to freedom or renegotiate the terms of their enslavement were few. Marcia Wright's (1983) work offers life stories of women enslaved on the northern Swahili coast whose experiences offer an additional picture of life of the enslaved in coastal communities.

Take for instance, the former slave woman Chisi Ndjurisiye Sichyajuna who even after marriage continued to be reminded of her lot and the absence of family. Following a severe beating instigated by the rumors of a first wife, the husband who had cut off the ear of Chisi confessed to witnesses that his behavior was beyond reproach stating, "It is true that if this woman had relations I should have to atone for the ear I have cut off". However, given the absence of kin, Chisi described that following the incident she "was silent, I had no relations to whom I could complain. For this reason, I stayed with Ndeye and cooked for him" (Wright 1983: 86).

The notion of incorporation as it relates to addressing the vulnerabilities and insecurity of women in society, is well articulated by Amina Mama (1998) who writes,

Because security means different things to men and women, it is attained through different routes and different identities. Secure femininity centers on notions of womanhood defined primarily in terms of marriage, motherhood and service, whereas secure masculinity can best be displayed as sexual and monetary prowess that is command over men, women and material resources (p. 4).

Scholars have addressed the issues of vulnerability and insecurity of slave women and children in East Africa paying attention to the ways in which their survival often necessitated incorporation into a household (Alpers 1983; Wright 1993; Deutsch 2007). The theme of belonging is intimately bound in the act/notion of incorporation. For women enslaved on the Swahili coast; marriage, bearing a master's child and/or becoming a *suria* were among the very few ways that one might gain increased freedoms and/or ensure the freedom of their children aside from being manumitted or ransomed.¹³² Serving as either a domestic servant, agricultural laborer or as a *suria* to her master the varied roles the enslaved woman held as an unpaid laborer did not always prevent, though it did complicate the varied identities of mother, daughter, sister and wife to co-exist. It is through the aforementioned tales, that the performance of and the restrictions on these roles that the experiences of loss and belonging manifest. In fact, it is through the relationship between mother and child and the image of the lone girl child that the thematic undercurrents of loss and belonging become most evident.

The presentation of the unborn child and threat of enslavement for the two girls also aids in the presentation of the violation of innocence and particular vulnerabilities of children during the time of the slave trade. For instance, in an interview with an elder in the town of Bagamoyo in 2001, Father John Henschel reveals this story shared by a descendant of former slaves,

“Old people told that one day a big dhow arrived with Arabs who left the ship at the turn of the tide on the drying sand. They had food and sweets and invited the children to inspect the dhow. The children entered and checked even the cabins, not aware that the water came back-at the beginning of the high tide. Slowly, very slowly the Arabs pushed the ship into deeper water. The children saw the danger and started to cry. The Arabs started to sing and to play music at instruments in order to make the parents think that a happy party was going on. The children were never seen again.” (Henschel 2001:15).

¹³² *Suria*, concubine.

The recall of tales of maltreatment of children in recollections of stories concerning slavery is not solely isolated to stories told over generations. For some elders in Bagamoyo, the memories are personal. Germana Kiswara, born in 1941 describes how as a young girl, well after the mandate of the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance she witnessed the capture of her aunt. She states,

Slavery I knew it since when I was home before coming here. When I was a little girl I saw the local chiefs catching girls and keeping them in their homes. So they kept them in their homes for cooking and grinding maize and others were being sent I heard that to Bagamoyo where they were going to be slaves. I saw myself and people were saying those slaves were being sent to Bagamoyo through Iringa even my aunt the young sister of my mother was among them. Those slaves [were] apart from those that were seen by my grand grandfathers...It was during the British colonialism it was a short time before independence. So those girls were working for their wives while their own wives were sitting idle, resting, passing time (personal communication, December 28, 2008).

Again, these details demonstrate the threat of capture posed to children and young women who found themselves beyond the protective shield of male kin. As importantly, the connections made between the tale and Bibi Germana's own life shows that "remembering is ... an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of past experiences" (Bartlett 1995). This memory shared by Bibi Germana also highlights the intersections of gender and class in that her aunt and other captives of this particular chief performed the domestic duties for the wives of the chief not because the wives were incapable of doing so but because not having to mark elite status for the wives. Msatulwa Mwachitete shared his story of life as a young slave boy in East Africa,

This was the work I had to do in the hut of my sorrow-I had to cut firewood, grind corn for porridge, cook vegetables look after the woman's children hoe her field, fetch water, and carry everything for her. It was the woman who gave me all this work, not the man (Wright 1983: 65).

In fact, scholars suggest that the nature of the work performed by slave women and children in terms of domestic work greatly reduced the work load and obligations of free women (Robertson and Klein 1983; Mirza and Strobel 1989).

While the focus of this piece thus far has detailed the vulnerabilities of women and children and the imminent risk of being captured and taken as slaves, it is also important to note how women despite such threats worked to protect their children from such a fate. For Bibi Germana her mothers' warnings are still remembered,

Sometimes when we were accompanying our mothers to certain farms our mothers would warn us not to pass certain ways because they were leading to certain chief's homes because if you pass this way you will get caught and made to work for the chiefs like cutting fire wood, grinding maize etc. (personal communication, December 28, 2008).

In the case of Maria Ernestina, it is my speculation that since the era of the slave trade made familial formation precarious and often times due to male migration, women became the sole providers for their children; Maria Ernestina and her mother were more susceptible to capture. As such, upon ransom by the Catholic mission, mother and child uncertain of what life in their new coastal home would hold, converted to Catholicism in search of sustenance and protection. In regards to Swema, the story tells of how her mother knowingly placed herself in harm's way begging to join her child on the caravan rather than remain in her village unprotected and have her child face enslavement alone. The sorrows faced by these mothers under the threat of losing their children can only be imagined as they are only given voice through the experiences and/or words of their offspring.



Figure 4. Photo of Bibi Maria Ernestina at Catholic Museum Bagamoyo. Photo by author, 2008.

No human bond is perhaps more noted or reflective of familial ties across cultures and time than that of mother and child. Thus far, this chapter has noted how the images of and relations between both denote loss and belonging. In considering the significance of mother and child in these tales, it is important to discuss the absence of progeny for the three women in these stories. It was only in the interviews and conversations with elders; concerning recollections of Maria Ernestina did this absence become clear. During these interviews with elder residents of

New Town, the community adjacent to the Catholic mission, I learned that though some remembered Maria Ernestina, they were much younger than she and as a result only knew her in passing. An elderly couple both longtime residents of New Town discussed what little they remembered of Maria Ernestina:

This I remember, I remember when she was living in Nunge but we at the time as children we were living in the mission. We accompanied the sisters and we used to go to her place, to her house and help her. Then when she became sick, she was brought back here to the mission until her death. I didn't see even one of her relatives she didn't even have a single child. I don't remember where she came from (personal communication, December 30, 2008).

Alongside this information shared by this couple, additional information from Margarite Bartholomew an elder also living in New Town who was raised and educated at the mission in the 1920's corroborated unsolicited information concerning Maria Ernestina's marital status, noting that "she was married to a man Jacob and bore no children" (personal communication, January 11, 2009).

This issue of the absence of progeny for Maria Ernestina as well as the other women allows for a turn towards a discussion of the gendered representations of enslaved women's bodies, particularly concerning reproduction and labor value (Morgan 2004; Berry 2007; Burrill 2008; Millward 2012). Female slaves served not only as part of the domestic and agricultural labor force but were also viewed as human vessels for the endless supply of slave labor in the Atlantic world but also for their ability to increase the familial network of slave holders in coastal society. The position of the enslaved woman as both a "producer" and "reproducer" demonstrates the manner in which the bodies of slave women were marked by their biological capacity to produce offspring and perform free labor (Meillasoux 1975; Morgan 2004). In addition, the case of reduced reproductive capacities of enslaved women and "the rarity of

surviving infant births may have further highlighted the pragmatic and symbolic value of African women's reproductive potential" (p. 9).¹³³

It may very well be that Maria Ernestina was unable to bear children or perhaps she married later in life and had surpassed her child bearing years. However, given the emphasis placed on marriage and the importance of child bearing at the mission a marriage later in life seems less likely. The fact that Swema did not bear children is to be expected as she was a young novice preparing to take a vow of chastity and the outcome of the unidentified slave woman's pregnancy has already been discussed. The fact that none of the women in these tales bears children is significant because the absence of progeny presents the greatest loss for the reason that "slavery is theft -- theft of a life, theft of work, theft of any property or produce, theft even of the children a slave might have borne. (Bales 2005:5).

Unpacking the Tales

"Stories do not float around abstractly" asserts Kenneth Plummer (2002), instead they are "grounded in historically evolving communities of memory, structured through age, class, race, gender and sexual preference" (p. 46). Hence, what has proven most interesting has been the manner in which these accounts converge thematically and have disclosed perhaps more about those who recount the tales than about the subjects within them. The act of storytelling provides a discursive space through which the stories become sites for the sociological exploration into the intersections of race, class and gender. As importantly, the space created through the telling of these stories allows for discussions concerning a most uncomfortable moment in history, the peculiar institution of slavery to reside.

¹³³ Brief discussion concerning the case of infertility on the Swahili coast is offered by Meillassoux 1975; Strobel 1989; Wright 1993.

As I previously discussed, the nationalist discourse of “One Tanzania” and trepidation experienced on the part of Bagamoyo residents of being deemed divisive or accused of “stirring up tribalism” has at times subverted public conversations concerning community fissures and discord. Thus, it is my assertion that these tales continue to be shared because they allow the tellers to both counter and/or confirm their understandings of slavery in historic terms as well as bring light to its legacy in the contemporary moment. Through the telling of these stories four historical actors emerge. Among these are 1) the enslaved as victim 2) the invisible/absent male kin 3) the perpetrator and 4) the redeemer. I have addressed how the first of these actors, the enslaved woman and child provide a symbolic representation of the notions of loss and belonging.¹³⁴ Therefore the following will focus on how the remaining three actors materialize either through their overt actions or their inconspicuous absence.

To consider the whereabouts and the condition by which male kin came to be absent in these tales is important. For as I have detailed previously, these tales suggest that the absence of male kin as formidable foes against slave traders and ardent protectors of women folk made the capture and/or enslavement of these women inevitable or at the very least, more likely. In the case of the account of the slain pregnant slave, no mention is made of who the father of the unborn child is, for perhaps the pregnant slave woman is married to a slave within the household

¹³⁴ I am unsure of the continued presentation of the enslaved mother and child as solely victims. Such representation is one dimensional and does not explore the varied ways that enslaved and newly freed women negotiated in these societies. However, the purpose of this chapter has been to contemplate why these particular accounts where women are central are very much a part of the collective memory of Bagamoyo residents. Perhaps, to be a slave in the mind of the collective meant that one could only be thought of as a victim. For sure, as I detail in the methodology, my lineage as a descendant of slaves, led many with whom I spoke in Tanzania to express their grief and condolences for not only the circumstances of my ancestors but for my inability to recall/identify more than five generations of my family.

of the master or the father could be the master himself. So at play in this story and in fact each of these account are questions of violation, paternity and protection.

Once enslaved, the personal relationships between enslaved men and women were managed by masters who maintained say in the matters concerning the marriages between enslaved persons. For instance, an enslaved husband could not fully lay claim to his wife in that he had not paid a dowry to the master for his new bride. As such, the female slave though married remained the property of the master's household as would all the children that the couple produced. In this way, men even when present as husbands and fathers were due to the confines of the institution of slavery denied the full opportunities to perform these roles as set forth by the norms and values proffered to free men in coastal society. Hence, men's absence from the stories speaks to the disruption of the family unit, highlights the significance of gender norms and cast other male figures, priests, colonial administrators, slave traders and masters as surrogate paternal figures for enslaved women and children.

"To speak the truth what I say is that the Arabs didn't do something good to catch someone...Some of the people the Arabs caught had kids on their backs, but they didn't care..." were the words spoken by Patrick Katembo, a practicing Muslim, born in 1917 during our interview. Mzee Katembo expressed this point after sharing stories of trickery and deceit which led to the capture of slaves. His anger or rather sadness became evident as he began to discuss the behavior of the traders and those who owned slaves. During discussions couched within the context of the tale of the unnamed pregnant woman and other points of conversation, Mzee Katembo as in the case of many others, demonstrated a greater ease in speaking about community relations, particularly those which concerned relations between Afro-Arabs and Africans in town.

In relation to the recounting of the story of the pregnant woman, I also noted the fervor with which the story was repeated by research participants, furthering heightening the imagery of the violence of the institution of slavery and the callous actions of those who benefited from the trade. In addition, those interviewed consistently emphasized that the violation of the pregnant woman and her unborn child was prompted by the “Arab woman” or “Arab wife”. Emphasis paid to describing the slave master’s wife as Arab points to both markers of class and race in that in Bagamoyo both past and present, those who claim Arab lineage are most often among the wealthier and therefore considered by some to be of higher status than other residents. In addition, the story also reveals the differential treatment and position of women identified as Arab among elite men who were more likely to have obtained slaves. In *Ain’t I a Woman*, bell hooks (1999) writes,

It would have been obvious that similarities between the status of women under patriarchy and that of any slave or colonized person do not necessarily exist in a society that is both racially and sexually imperialistic. In such a society, the woman who is seen as inferior because of her sex can also be seen as superior because of her race, even in relationship to men of another race (p.141).

Therefore, the attention paid to the racial identity of the woman who commands such an act against another woman is indicative of not only prior divisions between those who identified as Arabs during the era of slavery but also permits one to see that despite the patriarchal organization of coastal society, the status of women was varied and remains so.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ There was a consensus among those residents interviewed between the ages of 18-40 that Swahili women were more coveted by male suitors. Some men made reference to the greater status and prestige afforded to them if they were “lucky” enough to catch the attention of a “Swahili girl” or girl who “looked Arab”. Mention was made concerning physical features, including skin color, hair texture and demeanor. Women participants made mention of the manner in which some Afro-Arab men expected that their advances towards African women would be eagerly received because of their heritage.

The account of the unknown pregnant woman also takes on another dimension in that the story came to the fore most prominently during the time leading up to the Zanzibar revolution. Glassman (2010) notes that accounts of the disembowelment of pregnant women were also used by TANU leaders such as Bibi Titi Muhammad who referenced such tales of violence as a means to garner support for the party.¹³⁶ The account of the pregnant slave woman and other tales of violence perpetrated against slaves were crucial to political propaganda surrounding the campaign in Zanzibar.¹³⁷ In fact, the Afro-Shirazi (ASP) political party used references and images of the atrocities committed during the slave era in its newspapers and during political rallies. The following is an excerpt of a 1961 article covering an Afro-Shirazi party meeting in weeks leading up to an election,

Today we would like to...remind our African brethren who are insisting on helping the Arabs (of) the actions done by the Arabs...The Arabs made the people sweep with their breasts; the Arabs pierced the wombs of the women who were pregnant so that their wives could see how a baby was placed. The Arabs made the people castrated like cows so that they might converse with their wives without wanting them. The Arabs made the African old men chew palm nuts without breaking them in order that they may laugh. ” (Lofchie 1965: 209)

The rendering of accounts of violence and humiliation such as these or the threat thereof against varying segments of a community have often been the basis for surges in violent uprisings. Glassman (2010) confirms that accounts of disembowelment and other acts of brutality were not unique to the mainland or Zanzibar for tales of such violence such as “the killing of children, [it]

¹³⁶ The impending threat of violence was used by leaders of both competing parties. The participation of Bibi Titi Muhammad in promoting such propaganda is surprising given her role on the mainland in promoting a campaign which focused on unification of the various ethnic and religious groups present on the mainland.

¹³⁷ By propaganda, I am not suggesting that these acts did not occur; rather I am interested in how vicarious memories of such acts were used as a way to further incite those in opposition to the ASP. I am not inclined to discount these accounts as slavery regardless of its locale was and continues to be a most brutal institution in which the unfathomable occurs.

can be understood as an attack on the enemy's ability to reproduce; that is, it is a discursive act shaped by the idiom of descent that underlies all racial thought" (p. 194). Additionally, as a motif, the defiling of the pregnant slave woman also perpetuated negative claims of the incompetence and weakness of the male slaves or even those kin who remained free but were unable to safeguard their households.

Furthermore, the very fact that residents relayed this story with certainty and without mention of perhaps hearing the story during the height of the Zanzibar revolution also highlights the power of memory in that the murder of the pregnant slave and child was not conveyed as an inconsequential rumor or piece of folklore but rather it was relayed with great veracity. Michael Lofchie (1965) similarly confirms such writing,

direct person-to-person repetition of such stories endowed them with a legendary authenticity, and created an atmosphere of apprehension and terror greater than could ever have been aroused in the more ebullient environment of an open public meeting (P. 210).

Accordingly, whether fictitious or veritable, the retelling of the violence perpetrated against the unnamed pregnant woman remains important in that for research participants the ability to do so allows for the brutality of enslavement to be articulated.

If these stories render the "Arab" as the slave owner and primary perpetrator and architect of the slave trade, it is not by happenstance. While those of Arab descent clearly participated and alongside Indian financiers benefitted most from the East African trade, many others who claimed no such lineage and instead claimed mainland ancestry also participated in the trade of men, women and children and prospered in the gains made by the growing industry during the nineteenth century. Recognition of such was expressed by an elder born and raised on the mission grounds who when asked about the slave trade stated,

The chiefs were responsible for this trade because they sold their people. Do you think an Arab can come here and take a child while we look? We would beat him! But only the chiefs were selling their own people to Arabs. The Arabs went to the chiefs and gave them some presents, clothing and so on. At that time you know you had no power, you could not resist and the chiefs sold you to the Arabs. Then the chief could say, “You, and you and you, you will be porters for this stranger and you will help to take his luggage to the coast and then you will come back”. But then you go and reach the coast and you become a slave (personal communication, February 8, 2009).

Similarly, another woman, Buguza Mtelekezo, the daughter of a slave owner who was interviewed by Father John Henschel spoke of the participation of Africans in the trade and described how local chiefs supported the trade by selling some of their subjects for offences such as failure to demonstrate reverence to the chief (2001:14). Despite such acknowledgement of African participation in the trade, very few beyond the elders made reference to this fact.¹³⁸ As such, the fact that these stories when shared either orally or via museum murals and placards primarily cast the “Arab” as the iconic figure of the slave master and trader and by extension Islam as the offending faith becomes a significant point for further investigation.¹³⁹ Finally, this account as in the case of the other two also provides an avenue by which African Muslim research participants are able to distinguish themselves from their religious brethren and Catholics are able to subliminally describe the faith of the offender without offending their Muslim neighbors.

¹³⁸ In the Caravan-serai, the large wall painting to which I referred in the previous chapter which provides a pictorial of limited rights of the descendants of slaves, such as the inability to marry freeborn, there is also a listing of reflections of slave descendants and the descendants of slave owners on the museum walls. Most intriguing is that among the descendants of slave owners all are African and point to the familial bonds which existed between the owners and their slaves. Out of the seven reflections listed, four are from owners and three are from descendants, none of whom speak to the “civility” of the institution of slavery in Bagamoyo or relationship between slaves and their masters.

¹³⁹ Notes made by explorers of the time noted the East African slave trade often as the “Arab” or “Islamic” slave trade. However, the Atlantic trade or the process by which slaves from the East African coast were shipped to the French colonized islands of Mauritius and Reunion were not referred to as the Christian or European slave trade.

The story of Swema, though initially intended for Catholic youth abroad became part of the discourse concerning the experiences of slavery and the role of the Catholic Church both along the Swahili coast and the island of Zanzibar. The biographical account of Swema's experience, initially published in French was intended for Catholic audiences abroad. Published in efforts to garner additional financial support for the missions at both Zanzibar and Bagamoyo, Swema's story was to serve as a model of Catholic teachings to young people and demonstrate the triumphs of the evangelization of African converts (Alpers 1983: Kollman 2005). In addition, the story of Swema and other similar childhood slave narratives were "used to appeal to a European audience for support, both moral and material, in the final campaign against the slave trade and slavery in East Africa" (Alpers 1983:27). Used as a moral lesson on forgiveness, redemption and sacrifice as well as a critique of the horrors of the slave trade, the story of Swema also cast the Catholic missionaries in a most favorable light-as valiant protector and redeemer.

Another descendant of slaves, described the arrival of the Holy Ghost Fathers noting that "the missionaries did not come by force; they came in the name of God. The Arabs saw that the situation could change if the missionaries got stronger influence. So they placed them outside the town" (Henschel 2001:23). The formation of the Mission on the outskirts of town provided the distance necessary for the formation of an enclave of freed slaves to commune with one another under the banner of a new Catholic identity (Kollman 2005). It was on these mission grounds that the once enslaved bore witness to the possibilities of what this new faith could bring. Born at the mission in 1928, John Kiwasira shared,

the priests were buying slaves and those slaves were brought here and those slaves are the ones who were educated in religious and secular education. Do you

hear me? Those slaves are the ones who were teachers; those slaves are the ones who were doctors” (personal communication, December 29, 2009).

Mzee Kiwasira, the husband of Bibi Germana who in the previous chapter made similar claims concerning the importance of educational attainment among former slaves was not the only research participant to discuss what he considered the advantages of growing up Catholic. Other Catholic participants similarly maintained that the membership of freed slaves in the Catholic Church particularly following the issuance of the Involuntary Servitude Ordinance had afforded them greater opportunities for social mobility primarily due to access to formal education. Seeking to make a similar claim, an annual colonial officer’s report written five years after the mandate read

The change in the native’s condition in one generation has been extraordinary and wonderful. From slavery to membership of the African Civil Service may prove to be indecent and dangerous haste, but such actually is the condition today of some who were slaves but are now employees of the most kind and generous Government of the world.¹⁴⁰

Despite the self-promoting nature of this colonial government report in which efforts were made to emphasize the supposed benevolence of the colonial administration, the report does speak to previous statements made by some of those interviewed about the improvement in life chances provided by mission education. While the colonial officer who authored this report made efforts to give credit for the advancement of the children of the formerly enslaved, to the British government, the aim of the Catholic priests and other missionaries at Bagamoyo mission had been to advance the mission of the church through the spreading of the gospel.¹⁴¹ Father Horner described the objective of the establishment of the mission in Bagamoyo in the foreword of the

¹⁴⁰ TNA, Provincial Commissioners Report, 1927.

¹⁴¹ The objective of the missionaries at Bagamoyo mission had been to educate those at the mission in hopes that some of those who had been trained for a life in the ministry would assist with the setting up of missions in the interior areas of Tanganyika.

published account of Swema's experience, writing "we are building a house to form native priests and catechists, who will go and regenerate their poor brethren in the interior" (Gaume 1871). With the publication of Swema's story, Father Horner had hoped to bring light to the plight of enslaved Africans by appealing to Catholics throughout Europe for their financial assistance. Central to his appeal were both the presentation of the horrors of the slave trade and the success of conversion as evidenced by tales of salvation such as Swema's.

Just as Father Horner sought to present the realities of slavery to European readers in the late nineteenth century so too do those charged with the responsibility of designing exhibits and maintaining the artifacts housed within the Bagamoyo Mission museum. Among these artifacts and exhibits is the photo of Maria Ernestina. Despite a life spent in close proximity to the Catholic Mission grounds, little beyond what is noted at the start of this chapter is recorded about Maria Ernestina's life. However, Maria Ernestina's image is not only on the walls of the Mission museum but her photo is also displayed on the back cover of the museum pamphlet entitled "The Two Worlds: Bagamoyo and Slavery in the 19th Century" (2001). The search for additional information on Maria Ernestina provided minute pieces of information concerning the woman whom in her death has come to represent the presumed valor and benevolence of the ransoming efforts of the Catholic Church in Bagamoyo.

It is through continued use of her image that the end of the institution which removed children from their mothers, women and men from their families and divided communities into free and enslaved, that the Catholic mission commemorates its early days in Bagamoyo. Given this public representation and the ways in which Maria Ernestina's life experience casts the mission as an agent of liberation, it is bewildering that greater efforts were not made to preserve the life story of the woman whose image and story has come to symbolize freedom in Bagamoyo

and continues to promote a rarely challenged local memory of the role of the Catholic mission in Bagamoyo.

Finally, I want to suggest that the stories of both Swema and Maria Ernestina, particularly among the six research participants who acknowledged slave ancestry are confirmation of the fortitude and persevering spirit of both their ancestors and the Catholic Church. Perhaps, for these research participants these stories stand as a testament of God's grace and mercy over their lives and in the retelling of these accounts they too are offering thanksgiving for their freedom just as the newly freedmen and women of the Mission had done more than one hundred years before.

Conclusion

In *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Andreas Huyssen (2003) details the manner in which the urban landscape through acts of commemoration, building and other efforts can be likened to palimpsests; ancient writing material on which previous writings are etched out and rewritten upon repeatedly. The bodies of these women are metaphorically written upon time and time again by townspeople who relay their stories, by scholars, museum workers and others who record and interpret the tales and by those who hear the accounts. Because of the very nature of palimpsests, the material possesses multiple layers, embedded with indelible markings of the past as well as the present. Given this, the idea of imagining these women and their tales as such affords the opportunity to consider the various markings that have been etched upon Swema, Ernestina and the pregnant mother through the continued resurrection of these accounts.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

*Place is not merely a setting or backdrop,
but an agentic player in the game-a force
with detectable and independent effects on social life.
(Geryn 2000:46)*

The demographic make-up of Bagamoyo town has changed very little since Nyerere and Sheik Muhammad began to tour the town and the district during the anti-colonial campaign in the 1950s. Bagamoyo town is still home to a majority Islamic population, the Catholic Church remains on the edge of town and a portion of the mission is now home to the Catholic Mission museum, a project initiated during the early years of Nyerere's presidency in 1968. However, the spatial layout of the town has shifted, with Catholics and Muslims living in closer proximity as neighbors. The area adjacent to the Mission which was once entirely Catholic continues to be home to a majority of Christians but also includes Muslims as neighbors. The Qadiriyya continues to represent the largest segment of Muslims in the town and a vast number of adherents from throughout the country converge upon the local mosque of the brotherhood to celebrate Maulidi during the first quarter of the year.

On any given day, tourists arrive via mini-bus or large tour caravans for day trips to survey the location of where German soldiers hung rebels during the Abushiri war or photograph the grave site where fallen German colonial soldiers and officials were laid to rest. Others visit the local government museum, the Caravan-serai; the site some argue served as the holding quarters for slave captives before they were to be taken to the shore and sent out into the Indian Ocean littoral. In the midst of the comings and goings of tourists and conference attendees who attend meetings at the high end hotels built on the shores of the Indian Ocean, Bagamoyo

residents carry on with their everyday lives in the midst of a town in which the legacy of slavery and two colonial regimes is indeed palpable. As highlighted in the introductory chapter, the history of Bagamoyo as an important terminus on the southern East African slave trade route and its role as the first capital of German East Africa is well known. A search of any guide book or tourist brochure on the town mentions these two historical facts. However, for those residents interviewed, Bagamoyo is much more than its late nineteenth century epilogue suggests.

Central to this project has been the emphasis paid to the ways in which Tanzanians in general and residents of Bagamoyo more specifically have summoned vicarious memories of slavery in order to articulate their experiences with neighbors, community and nation. In this dissertation I have argued that vicarious memories of slavery come to light in efforts to contextualize lived experiences and/or to substantiate or refute opposing claims. The aim of this project has been to illustrate how an interrogation of memories-vicarious and otherwise informs how a community and nation comes to terms with the legacy of slavery. It is by doing so that this project and others which investigate the process of emancipation are offered the opportunity to not only “examine the persistence of structured inequality across institutional regimes” but also to reassess the utility of memory beyond the confines of the state and within the intimate context of the community (Ruef and Fletcher 2003).

One of the foremost ways that memory has been discussed has been in relation to its significance in the construction of the national ideal. For Tanzanians, this ideal was embodied in the nation’s first president, Julius Nyerere. As leader of a newly independent nation, Nyerere gained support across potentially adversarial lines and fostered a legacy of peace. By promoting a nationalist agenda which championed unity, rebuked discord and dissension and called for forgiveness of past transgressions, Nyerere presented a challenge to the masses.

As shown in Chapter 4, the accounts of Sheik Muhammad's role in TANU and his relationship with Mwalimu Nyerere were shared by residents as a way to highlight the contributions of the town at the height of the independence struggle and in the early years of nation building. I also discussed the personal motives, interactions and sources of division during the early days of the brotherhood under both Sheik Muhammad and his father Sheik Ramiya because doing so provides a useful context for understanding that which goes unspoken. Finally, I revealed the discomfort experienced by residents who expressed their concern over presenting the nation as anything less than the unified conflict free ideal. However, as demonstrated throughout this project it was in private spaces that individuals turned to these vicarious memories of slavery as a way to explicate discord and/or mistrust between social groups past and present.

It was within these social groups, religious and secular, ethnic and racial, freeborn and enslaved that the refashioning of identity occurred because "emancipation called for decisions about the acquisition, retention, or abandonment of identity as an issue in and of itself..." (Kopytoff 1988: 496). From the bonds of marriage, to the social ties of the family unit and the communal links of religious affiliation, the ability to gain and/or retain membership in a particular kinship network had been central to the construction of identities among the enslaved and newly freed. Thus, similar relationships emerged after slavery.

Earlier in this work, I metaphorically likened emancipation to the Christian ritual of baptism. I would like for a moment to return to this religious imagery. Considering that in the Christian tradition, baptism allows one to think of themselves as a new being and one who has cast previous behaviors aside based upon the acceptance of a new or for some a more fully developed belief system then, we can think of the former slave as viewing emancipation as an

opportunity for redemption. I want to consider that emancipation was also about redemption in the way that the disenfranchised were able to counter the narratives which had cast them as unredeemable, uncivilized beings unworthy of basic rights. Given this, I am suggesting that emancipation was in addition to all other promises it held, real or imagined, an opportunity to prove otherwise.

If as Stuart Hall (1990) suggest “identities are names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past”, then the significance of naming, the acquisition of skills and labor production became particularly useful in an analysis of identity construction following emancipation (p. 25). As I detail in Chapter 3, slaves brought to the coast were quickly made aware of their station in life by the names they were called, the work they performed and their level of acculturation on the coast, which was most often marked by the ability to speak Swahili, conversion to Islam and adaptation to other nuances of coastal culture. It was in these ways that many were able to renegotiate their positions in the community.

Finally, this project examined the stories of three women, each tale intersecting with the other in significant though not initially obvious ways. Swema, her story though translated by a second-party presents the agency of a young woman who has survived an unthinkable series of events and emerges as a woman of vocation living securely in Zanzibar. For the unnamed pregnant woman, her fate exposes the horrific consequences of vulnerability and insecurity of slave women who are left to the devices of their slave masters and beyond the protection of their network of kin. Finally, Maria Ernestina’s tale of ransom, conversion and a life resettled in the town of Bagamoyo under the protective banner of the Mission reveals the significance of the notions of home and belonging. It is through the recounting of these tales, I argue, that individuals find a different venue through which they are able to communicate their

understandings of the precarious nature of slavery. In addition, I contend that each story resonates with those who recount the tale in that both the turmoil of slavery and the triumphs of freedom are revealed

The League of Nations slavery convention of 1926 surmised the existence of slavery on the African continent affirming,

The situation may be summed up as follows: In Africa, the age-long home of most of the slaves of the world, there is no reason for any disquietude concerning any of the colonies of the European Powers. In most of them, slavery in any form has now ceased to exist: in some, it lingers on, without legal status, as a social tie. Even as such, it is dying rapidly and painlessly.¹⁴²

The death of slavery had been the eventual expectation of both German and British colonial administrations. However, the end of slavery was neither rapid nor painless. Instead, the advent of emancipation presented not only formidable obstacles but also fortuitous opportunities. The campaign for independence tested the willingness of Tanganyikans to put aside their differences and support a developing national narrative which promoted the egalitarian ideal in efforts to present a united front. In doing so, citizens seemingly came to feel responsible for upholding the vision of Julius Nyerere and others whom had relied upon visions of freedom, equality and sovereignty in the decades prior. Just as the end of slavery was neither rapid nor painless, neither has the ongoing journey towards this egalitarian ideal, in which neighbors are neither marked by their lineage nor bear the costs of their forefathers' transgressions.

¹⁴² TNA, Acc. 30231/5/34.

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APPENDIX A: Interview Questions Guide

- What is your name?
- When and where were you born?
- Where were your parents born?
- What kind of work did your parents do?
- How did your family come to settle in Bagamoyo?
- Family origin/ Kabila?
- How long have you lived in Bagamoyo?
- How many siblings do you have?
- Are/were you married?
- If yes, is your spouse from Bagamoyo?
- What kind of work do/did you do?
- How did you come to work in that position?
- How many children do you have?
- What is your religious affiliation?
- Can you tell me about your life growing up?
- How do you think being born in Bagamoyo affected your life most?
- Can you remember when and where you first learned of Bagamoyo's history as a former slaving port town?
- Do you think it makes people feel uncomfortable to talk about this part of Bagamoyo's past? Why or Why not?
- I am a descendant of slaves both on my mother and fathers side do you think descendants of slaves here in Bagamoyo after so many years can speak freely and proclaim such things?
- Or do you think they would fear being judged?

- Have you ever heard of someone in the community being judged by their lineage? For instance, I have heard that sometimes families may not wish to have their children marry someone if it is known that they have slave ancestry? Is this true or is this a thing of the past?
- Do you think that the importance of one's lineage in terms of marriage or seeking employment or even a community position is relevant today?
- Can you think of a time when someone you might know of in the community was stigmatized or treated differently because of their ancestry?
- Do you think there are any differences concerning the significance of lineage for men and women?
- Following national independence, Mwalimu Nyerere spoke of creating "one Tanzania", considering the history of slavery and colonialism in Bagamoyo how would you describe the relationship between those of different racial groups. For example between African and Arab?
- Can you think of any circumstances where those two groups have been at odds either before or after independence?
- Can you describe how neighbors relate to another in Bagamoyo? Are there any groups which might not get along or families that have a history that prevents them from speaking to one another?
- Is there a specific family/families that you know of that have lived in Bagamoyo the longest?
- Do you know how they came to live in Bagamoyo? For instance, I have heard that many Baluchi arrived in Bagamoyo as porters and traders before the colonial era, while others arrived from central Tanzania after being captured during the slave trade.
- Are there any differences in the way people are treated based upon how long they have lived in Bagamoyo or their family history in the town?
- Are some families/individuals more respected than others? Is this based on lineage, social class, accomplishments of their ancestors, or something else?
- What are your personal thoughts on such?
- Do people today still know the lineage of their neighbors in Bagamoyo? For example, is it common knowledge whether or not a family has lived in

Bagamoyo since the early days of the trade or whether they arrived during the colonial era?

- Can you explain what you might remember of Sheik Ramiya?
- What do you recall of Sheik Ramiya's lineage?
- And what of his son Sheik Mohammed, do you recall a controversy surrounding one of his sermons which occurred while he served as head of the tariqa?
- In America, some black Americans still know the families of former slave owners. Is this true of slave descendants and the descendants of those who owned slaves here?
- If yes, what are these relationships like? Do they treat each other like family?
- Do many families still maintain relationships based on these previous relationships?
- If so, what do you think about this?
- In Bagamoyo, do you think it matters who/what your grandparents might have been? For instance, can you think of a time when it might be important to mention a neighbor's lineage?
- Since the government began trying to have Bagamoyo named a World Heritage site, have you noticed more people discussing their origins or ancestry?
- Have you ever visited the Mission museum or the Caravan-serai?
- In the mission museum there is a picture of Bibi Maria Ernestina and it only says that she was the last known ex-slave in Bagamoyo who died in 1974. Have you ever heard of her? (Show photo)
- In both the Caravan-serai and the Mission museum there are placards about the history of slavery in Bagamoyo and both mention that many people think that farming is "the work of slaves". What do you think about that?
- Have you heard about the community museum which is located inside the Mgonera Blockhouse?
- Is there any person from Bagamoyo that is/was well known and speaks of or spoke of their slave ancestry in public?

- Do you know of any stories or songs that discuss slavery or the history in Bagamoyo? If yes, would you mind sharing one with us, even if it's just the words to the song?
- Do you think it important to talk/share Bagamoyo's past, particularly focusing on the legacy of slavery along the coast?
- Do you think the history of slavery of Bagamoyo had any effect on your own life? What about for other people you know?
- Do you think that the history of slavery in Bagamoyo affects the younger generations in any way?
- How did life change most after independence in Bagamoyo?
- Do you remember any of Nyerere's visits to Bagamoyo before or after independence?
- Do you think it was anything Mwalimu Nyerere did or said that reduced the importance of noting whether or not someone was a descendant of slaves or even slave owners?
- Since Bagamoyo is Kikwete's birthplace, has this affected the town in anyway?
- Finally, what are your hopes for the future of Bagamoyo and the next generation?